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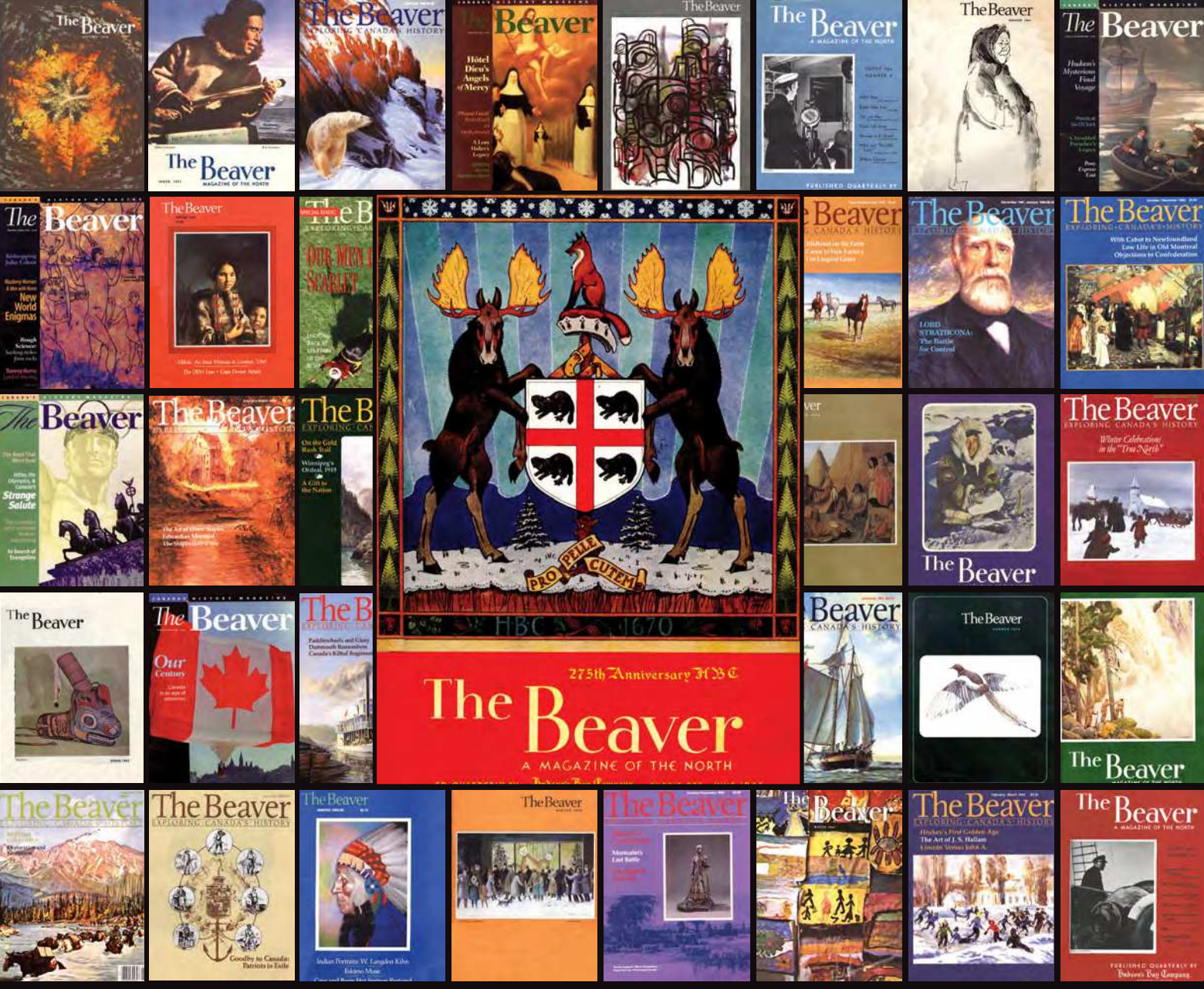

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CANADA'S HISTORY

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CONTRIBUTORS

Jon S. Dellandrea, CM, wrote "Ingenious Imitations." An author, a scholar, and an art historian, he holds a Ph.D. from the University of Toronto, an M.A. from the University of Oxford, and honorary doctorate degrees from Nipissing University and the University of Toronto. He is the past board chair of the Art Canada Institute. His work has been published in the *Literary Review of Canada*, and *Canadian Collector*. He is currently writing a book on the great Canadian art fraud case of 1962–64.

Gerrie Kautz, B.Sc., B.Eng., M.Eng., is the author of "Escape from Russia." A navy engineer for twenty-five years, Kautz later worked for twenty years in international business in more than forty countries. He is now a consultant and author who has published eight books with Canadian and American publishers. He has also written for magazines in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom. "Escape From Russia" is based on Kautz's family-history research.

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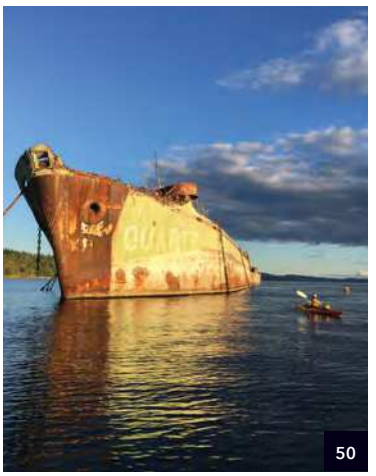

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Terry Mosher, OC, Litt.D., LL.D., wrote "Drawing the Line." Using the *nom de plume* Aislin (his elder daughter's name), Mosher, seventy-eight, has worked as a political cartoonist for over fifty years, primarily for the *Montreal Gazette*. To date he has written or contributed to the publication of fifty-one books. His latest, entitled *Professional Heckler*, is a biography of legendary Canadian cartoonist Duncan Macpherson. Aislin's work has appeared in numerous publications across Canada and internationally.

Christopher J. Rutty, Ph.D., is the author of "After the Pandemic." He is a professional historian of medicine, public health, infectious diseases, and biotechnology in Canada. He earned his Ph.D. in history at the University of Toronto and provides historical research, writing, consulting, and creative services to a variety of clients through his company, Health Heritage Research Services. He is also an adjunct professor at the University of Toronto's Dalla Lana School of Public Health.

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Above: Actor Tom Hanks examines a forged cheque in a scene from the 2002 film *Catch Me If You Can*. Top Right: The movie poster for *Catch Me If You Can*. Above: Former con man and forger Frank Abagnale Jr. circa 2002.

Artful scoundrels

A few years ago, I found myself browsing the movie options while settling in for a flight to Nova Scotia. I decided upon *Catch Me If You Can*, a boisterous film based on the life of con man and forger Frank Abagnale Jr., who operated in the 1960s.

Abagnale was incredibly skilled at writing fake cheques, and over several years he bilked businesses and banks out of millions of dollars. The story left me wondering, how could someone be so adept at deception?

It turns out that cheque forging is just the tip of the iceberg. In this issue we delve into the nefarious secret world of art forgery — and we discover that some well-known historical works of Canadian art may not be the real deal.

"Ingenious Imitations," by writer and art collector Jon Dellandrea, reveals the existence of a cottage industry devoted to creating fake versions of paintings by nineteenth-century artist Cornelius Krieghoff. The Dutch-Canadian lived and worked in Quebec in the mid-1800s and regularly sold paintings of everyday life in what was then the Province of Canada.

Dellandrea's story takes us from Brighton, England — which at one time was home to several notorious art forgers — all the way to private collections and art galleries in Canada, where some "Krieghoff" paintings may actually be clever fakes. In fact, Dellandrea himself was duped into buying one of the faux Krieghoffs.

Elsewhere in the issue, we seek to ascertain the long-term ramifications of the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic by examining the lessons of past disease outbreaks. During the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, Canada faced several major pandemics, including diphtheria, smallpox, polio, and SARS. Examining how Canadians in the past dealt with these public-health crises may offer important insights that help us navigate COVID-19 both now and into the future.

Other stories in this issue include a biography of one of Canada's top political cartoonists and the tale of a harrowing flight from the Soviet Union by Ukrainian immigrants to Canada in the 1920s.

As a bonus, please check out our annual Summer Reading Guide. We're sure you'll find a perfect page-turner for your upcoming socially distanced summer vacation.

Mark Reid

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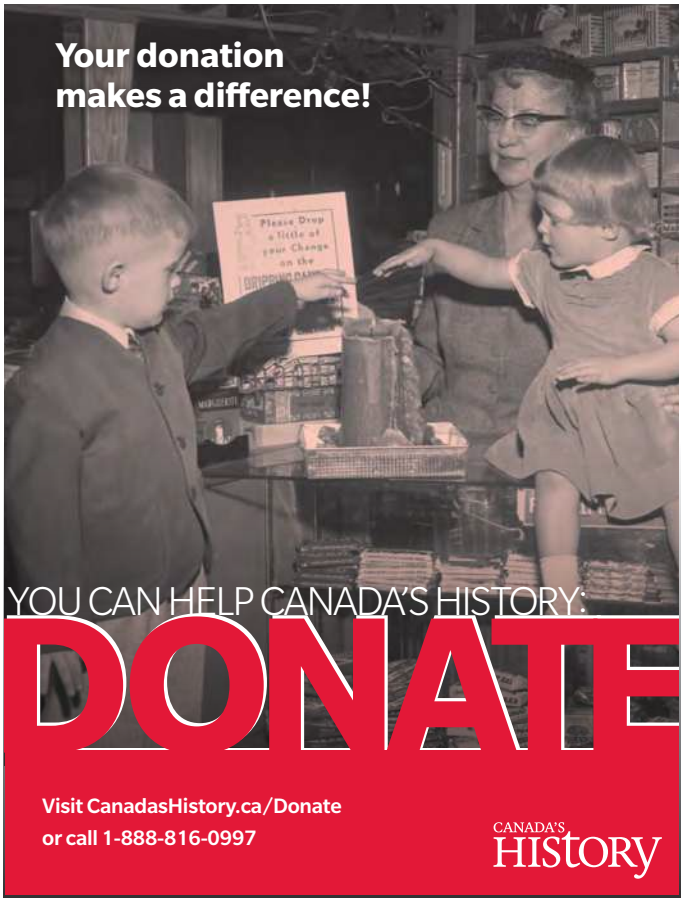

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Canadian soldiers walk along a road near Arnhem, Netherlands, in April 1945.

Worth remembering

It is a shame any reader of *Canada's History* could possibly think that the world wars, in which our men and women fought, were not required to be covered by your fine magazine (Editor's Note, April-May 2021). The Canadian combatants were and are people who did extraordinary things to help democracy remain vital. Please do not be distracted by this short-sighted vision of wars. There are so many angles and so many stories of valour to keep the human spirit alive. More, not less, please.

Wendy Chesworth
Belleville, Ontario

Fields of study

I was so pleased to see the review of Paul Earl's book, *The Rise and Fall of United Grain Growers* in your February-March 2021 issue.

Earl mentions that the early UGG was "established by Edward A. Partridge and other farmers at Sintaluta, Saskatchewan." My grandfather A.J. Quigley was one of those other farmers. He was its first secretary and helped contribute to the $2,500 needed to purchase a seat on the Winnipeg Grain Exchange so farmers might gain some control over the marketing of their own wheat. The story of these intrepid farmers needs to be told, and I look forward to reading Earl's book.

Dr. Allan Quigley, Ed.D.
via email

Many thanks to *Canada's History* and to Lyle Dick for the review of my book *The Rise and Fall of United Grain Growers* in the February-March 2021 issue.

One clarification, however. The book was not begun as commissioned research. It was conceived as such by the company, but I suggested that it would have greater credibility as an independent academic research project, and that is how the project was done.

I was pleased that Dick found my treatment of the cases for and against the takeover of the company to be balanced. It was important to stress that the proponents of each position acted in good faith, each believing they were doing the right thing. However, I was never neutral about the takeover itself. I deeply regretted the disappearance of the company, because I thought it still had an important role to play in the grain industry. I also believed that a more vigorous defence against the takeover should have — and might have — been mounted.

As the reviewer comments, the book does not deal with the federal government's failure to develop regulations for the protection "of both prairie farmers and the country." However, I believe it would have been inappropriate for this book to do so.

The problems the company faced at the end of its life were not specifically related to failures in government policies. They were, rather, internal difficulties that had been neglected, as well as legal issues regarding (and current practices with) mergers and acquisitions, both of which the book deals with at some length.

Paul D. Earl
Senior Scholar
Asper School of Business
University of Manitoba

Historic memories

I was pleased to read the article "A resilient community by the sea" by Hans Tammemagi (December 2020-January 2021).

I was head of National Historic Sites for the western region of Canada back in the 1970s and negotiated with the owners of the Steveston Cannery to acquire their unused old building and to develop it as a place to commemorate the importance of the fishing industry in Canada's history. We then stopped at all of the abandoned canneries to gather up any nets, tools, or artifacts that could be used in the proposed interpretive displays. I hired a Japanese-Canadian man (who liked to speak about his "holiday in the mountains during the war") to care for the building and its newly salvaged treasures.

It is very rewarding to hear of the appreciative results of those early efforts.

Harry A. Tatro
via email

Canadian history?

In your Editor's Note in the April-May 2021 issue, you talk about printing stories such as the ones in that issue on Amelia Earhart and Joachim von Ribbentrop — non-Canadians who have a Canadian connection. While I agree that hearing about their connection with Canada is interesting, I don't agree that they need to have "pride of place." Short stories on their time in Canada would be appropriate — but not feature-length articles.

Georgia Dale Crichton
via email

Erratum: *Old Hay Bay Church is west of Kingston, Ontario. Incorrect information appeared in the April-May 2021 issue.*

Email comments to editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to *Canada's History*, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada.

JACK SMITH/CANADA. DEPT. OF NATIONAL DEFENCE/LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA/PA -145884.

FROM THE ARCHIVES

Above: *Jacob*, a 1912 charcoal drawing by Emily Carr.

Left: *Ada and Louise Outside Cedar Canim's House*, a watercolour by Emily Carr circa 1898.

Sketches of friendship

A father-and-son duo from Victoria helped Emily Carr achieve new heights in art.

In 1962, the province of British Columbia purchased the estate of Victoria's William Arnold Newcombe. It included more than one hundred works of art – oil and watercolour paintings, pencil and pen drawings, charcoal sketches, and more – by Emily Carr, who is today recognized as one of the most important artists of early twentieth-century Canada.

Newcombe's father, Dr. Charles Frederic Newcombe, was an early benefactor of Carr who purchased several of her works of Indigenous-inspired art. The younger Newcombe, meanwhile, grew to become a trusted friend, neighbour, and supporter of Carr throughout her life.

In the Summer 1962 issue of *The Beaver*, another of Carr's friends, Flora Hamilton Burns, wrote an article describing the Newcombe collection. Entitled "Emily Carr and the Newcombe Collection," the article detailed how the elder and younger Newcombe each played key roles in supporting Carr's artistic career.

Burns explained how Charles Newcombe met Carr in 1889 when she was just eighteen years old. About a decade later – after Carr had developed her painting skills as well as an interest in Indigenous culture – Newcombe encouraged the artist to travel to remote locations in British Columbia to paint scenes of Indigenous communities and traditional art. Charles Newcombe also purchased several of Carr's earliest art pieces, thereby helping to establish her career.

The younger Newcombe, whom Carr lovingly called "Willie," supported the artist in many ways after the death of his father in 1924. For instance, he installed racks for her paintings and even built an aviary for her budgies. Carr famously had a menagerie of exotic pets, including parrots and a Javanese monkey. "Willie was literally her right-hand man," Burns wrote. In 1942 – three years before her death – Carr named Newcombe as one of three trustees charged with overseeing her newly created Emily Carr Trust Foundation, which controlled much of her art.

Burns' 1962 article also showcased some of Carr's art, including the 1908 watercolour painting *Thunderbird of Wawkyan*, *Alert Bay* and an 1898 pen-and-ink sketch entitled *Three Children, Ucluelet, Vancouver Island*.

– M.C. Reid

The Canada's History Archive featuring *The Beaver*, *Canada's History,* and *Kayak* was made possible with the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation. Please visit **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive** to read a century's worth of stories.

Edmonton adopts Indigenous names

Renaming initiative honours the histories and cultures of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples in Alberta. *by Brooke Campbell*

In Edmonton's next municipal election, voters will see new ward names on the ballot. The city council has approved twelve Indigenous names to replace the numbered wards.

Seventeen women from Anishinaabe, Blackfoot, Cree, Dene, Inuit, Iroquois (Michel Band), Métis, and Sioux Nations were selected to form iyiniw iskwewak wihtwawin (the committee of Indigenous matriarchs).

Throughout the summer of 2020, they discussed how best to recognize Indigenous languages used within the Edmonton area. They toured different sites throughout the city and reached out to Elders, Knowledge Keepers, and other members of their communities for input and guidance. Their meetings and decision-making process were grounded in ceremony and tradition.

In September 2020 the committee presented twelve names to the City of Edmonton that reflect Indigenous connections to the land in each ward. For example, *O-day'min* is an Anishinaabe word that means strawberry or heart berry and that is meant to represent the heart of Edmonton. Another ward has been given the Blackfoot name Ipiihkoohkanipiaohtsi, a word that describes the traditional lands upon which the Blackfoot Nation would seasonally travel while following bison herds north of the North Saskatchewan River during the animals' calving season.

ILLUSTRATION BY LETICIA SPENCE

pihêsiwin Sspomitapi Ipiihkoohkanipiaohtsi niwak papastew Dene

Terri Suntjens, director of Indigenous initiatives at MacEwan University in Edmonton and a co-chair of the Indigenous Naming Committee, told *MacEwan News*, "We hope that learning the new Indigenous ward names, their pronunciations, and their meanings will ... provide an opportunity to learn about the history of these sacred places in Edmonton. We also hope that with these new names Indigenous people – including my own family, my children – will see themselves reflected in our community."

To learn more visit Edmonton.ca/IndigenousWardNames.

The illustration accompanying this story features flowers and vegetation native to Alberta, including harebells, strawberries, bear berries, and marsh marigolds. It was created by Leticia Spence, a graphic designer from Pimicikamak First Nation in Manitoba. In describing the inspiration behind the artwork, she said: "Each of the Indigenous Nations from which these new ward names originate has its own interpretations of floral patterns in its beadwork. As an Ininiwi Iskwéw, I felt most comfortable using the floral patterns that I saw the matriarchal figures in my life working with when I was growing up.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

BY THE NUMBERS

Terry Fox and the Marathon of Hope

June 28, 2021, marks forty years since the death of Terry Fox, the brave young athlete from Port Coquitlam, B.C., who, after losing a leg to osteosarcoma, embarked on a run across Canada to raise money for cancer research.

18

Fox's age when he was diagnosed with osteosarcoma, a type of bone cancer.

8,323

The number of schools in Canada that held a Terry Fox Run in 2020.

1

The amount in dollars per Canadian citizen that Fox aimed to raise in his Marathon of Hope. The goal was achieved on February 1, 1981, when donations to the Terry Fox Marathon of Hope Fund reached $24.17 million, matching the then Canadian population of 24.1 million people.

5,373

The distance in kilometres that Fox ran from the beginning of his marathon in St. John's, Newfoundland, on April 12, 1980, until the return of his cancer forced him to stop near Thunder Bay, Ontario, on September 1, 1980.

PHOTOGRAPHIC MEMORY

Pilgrimage to Vimy Ridge

On Easter weekend in April 1917, at Vimy Ridge, France, four Canadian divisions for the first time went into battle together. The German forces who held the ridge had previously repelled attacks from both the French and the British, and few believed that the Canadians would do much better. On April 9, more than thirty thousand troops went over the top in blustery snow and with mucky ground conditions. During four days of fighting, the Canadian troops smashed the German-held positions, aided by a finely executed "creeping barrage" of artillery.

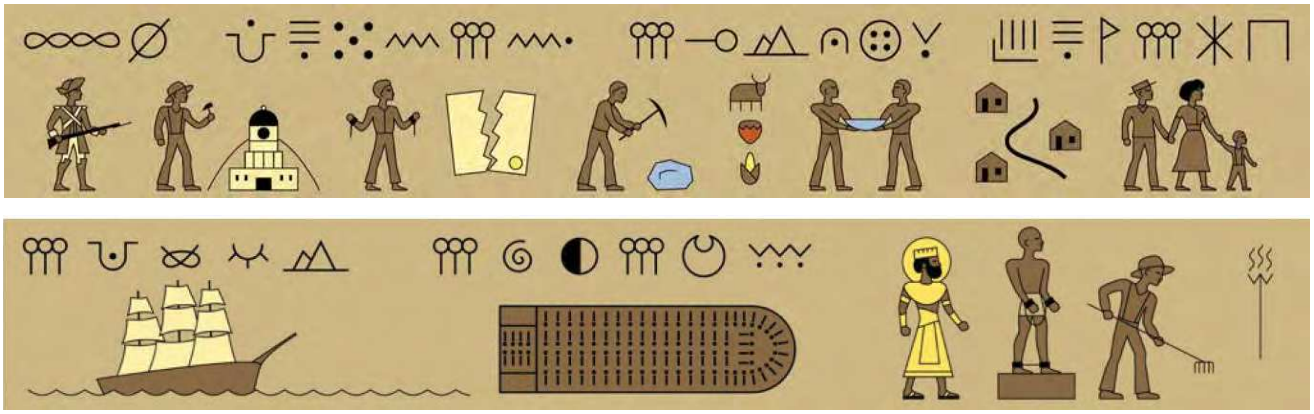
The victory at Vimy Ridge came at the high cost of 3,500 Canadian dead and another 7,000 wounded. And, while Canadians went on to fight many other battles en route to the armistice in November 1918, it was Vimy Ridge that loomed large in Canadian myth-making for years to come.

Nearly twenty years after the battle, on July 26, 1936, more than three thousand Canadian veterans of the First World War made a pilgrimage to France to attend the unveiling of the Vimy Ridge monument.

Designed by Canadian sculptor Walter Allward, the Canadian National Vimy Memorial sits on land donated in perpetuity by France in honour of Canada's wartime sacrifices. Created from limestone imported from modern-day Croatia, the monument features several statues, including one of a woman who looks to Canada and mourns its fallen sons. Etched into the limestone are the names of 11,285 Canadians who were killed in France and whose bodies were not found.

The official unveiling was attended by King Edward VIII and featured both an artillery salute and a flypast by the British Royal Air Force. Shown here, RAF pilots fly First World War-era biplanes in formation over the massive crowd in attendance. – *M.C. Reid*

CANADIAN GOVERNMENT MOTION PICTURE BUREAU/LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA PA-148872



Set in emotion

Art installation honours African-Nova Scotian community. *by Kylie Nicolajsen*

Top and above: A pair of illustrated panels from the *Concrete Legacy* art installation in Halifax. Left: Artistic lead Marven Nelligan, right, describes the art installation project to Halifax city councillor Lindell Smith, left, in 2019.

The striking glyphs and colourful pictograms tell stories as enduring as the concrete in which they're etched.

The expanse of symbols – located near the Cogswell Gate leading to the northern portion of the Halifax Common – is designed to give you pause. Does an image of a bright yellow bulldozer evoke the destruction of the historic Black community of Africville, Nova Scotia, in the 1960s? Do pictures of a Black man and a white man entering separate doors symbolize segregation? Deciphering these depictions of African-Nova Scotian strength in the face of adversity is meant to be a challenge.

While a legend that describes the general meaning of each of the glyphs will be installed at the site this summer, the artistic team behind the *Concrete Legacy* project has left the literal translations deliberately ambiguous to encourage viewers to dig more deeply into the Black history on display.

The Halifax Common is a ninety-five-hectare greenspace created in 1763 by the Crown for the "common" use of the citizens of Halifax. The *Concrete Legacy* project began in 2015 as part of a larger civic redesign of an African-Nova Scotian hub in the nearby Gottingen Street neighbourhood – the centre of Halifax's Black community.

Long-time resident and artistic lead Marven Nelligan worked with community-engagement consultant LaMeia Reddick and community developer Kate Moon – in consultation with the local Black community – to create the design that was officially unveiled in 2019. "Hope and endurance is the message of this piece. It was designed to be an inspiration to anyone who feels they don't have a voice," Nelligan said.

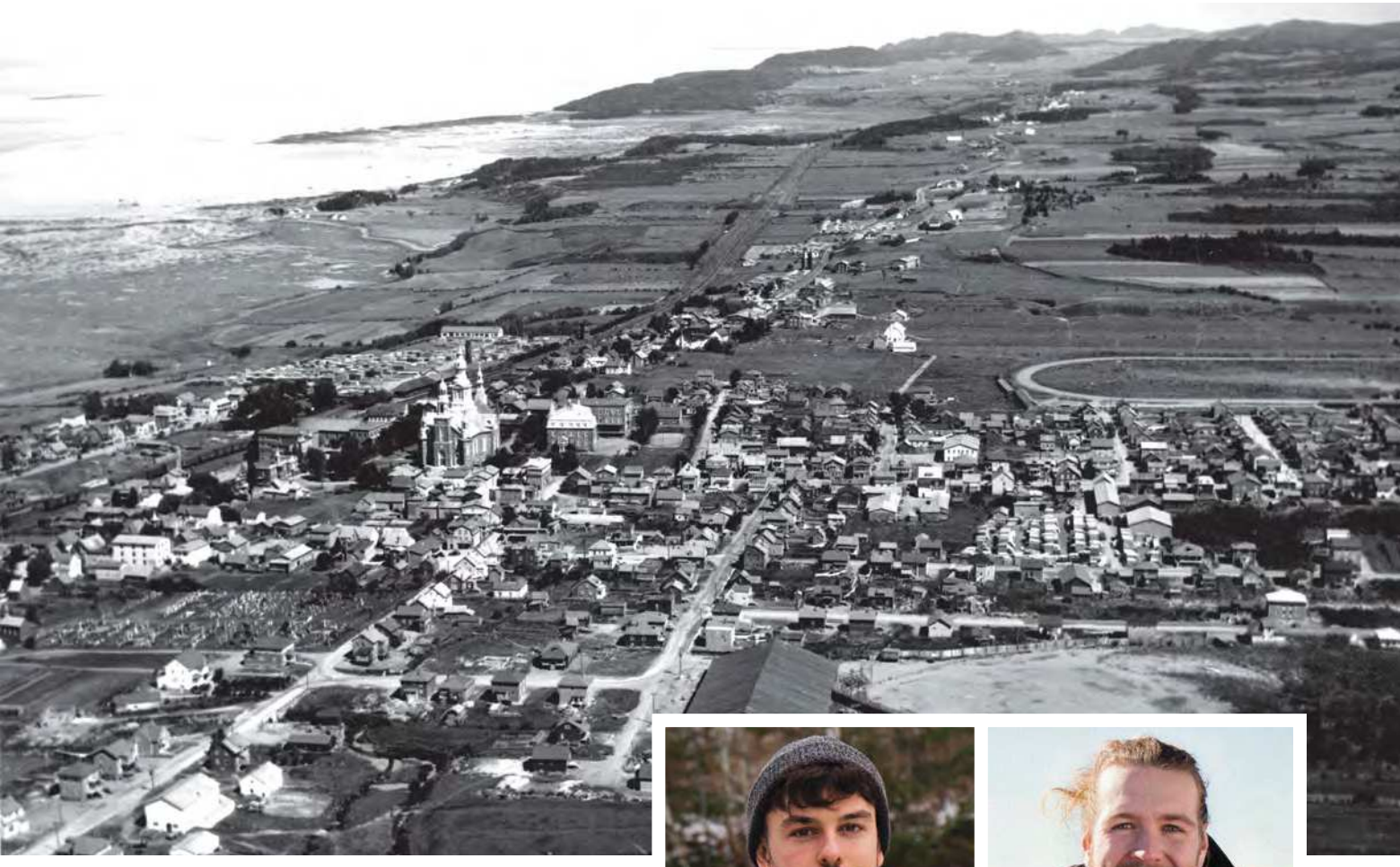
Concrete Legacy is one of three art installations created or planned for plazas in the Halifax Common and that celebrate the city's diverse communities. *Eymu'ti'k (We Are Here)*, by artist Teresa Marshall, celebrates Mi'kmaq history and culture, while a new project being developed by artist Margot Durling will honour the LGBTQ+ community.

This project was shortlisted in 2020 for the Governor General's History Award for Excellence in Community Programming. For more information on the Governor General's History Awards go to CanadasHistory.ca/Awards.

TOP AND MIDDLE IMAGES: COURTESY OF MARVEN NELLIGAN. BOTTOM: CONCRETE LEGACY PROJECT

Symbols of Strength: *Concrete Legacy* includes special glyphs that help to tell the story of African-Nova Scotian history. The symbols below and their translated meanings can be used to decipher the artworks found at the top of this page.

The People/Community	Capture/Steal	Carry/Bring/Bear/Transport	In/Inside	Victory/Success
Ruled/Possessed/Owned	Hold/Oppress	Obstacle/Hardship/ Challenge	Free/Escape/Release	Lost/Unknown/Asleep
Great/Mighty/Strong	Land/Place	Overcome/Conquer	Chain/Bind/Tie	Many/Multitude/Much
Kingdom/Dominion	Different/Another	Seek/Search/Explore/Pursue	Remove/Loose/Off	Skill/Talent/Ability
Become/Change	Forget/Lose	World/Planet	Make/Create/Build	Home/Dwelling/ Habitat/Abode



Above: An aerial view of Trois-Pistoles, Quebec, in 1950. Trois-Pistoles is the largest community in Les Basques, a regional county municipality in eastern Quebec located along the south bank of the St. Lawrence River. Interdisciplinary artist Julien Gagnon-Rouillard, right, and photojournalist Robert Majewski, far right, are working on a documentary video on sustainable-living projects in the region.

Visions of sustainable living

A new documentary video project will explore efforts in Quebec's Les Basques region to create sustainable alternative communities and ways of living.

Filmmakers Julien Gagnon-Rouillard and Robert Majewski will tour the region, located along the lower St. Lawrence River, during the late spring and summer of 2021 and will document projects such as organic farms, co-operative cultural initiatives, and collective living spaces that are emerging in the region.

The filmmakers plan to trace the history of the sites they explore and to share the stories of the people of this region of Quebec.

Gagnon-Rouillard, an interdisciplinary artist with an interest in the visual arts, teaching, and activism, is completing a master's degree in visual arts at the Université de Québec à Montréal. His research is focused on alternative economic structures.

Majewski is a photojournalist from Trois-Pistoles, Quebec, whose photo and video projects address urgent social issues. He is completing a master's degree in journalism at Concordia University in Montreal.

The videographers hope to finish the video project, which is supported by the Molson Foundation, during the winter of 2021–22. *– Jean-Philippe Proulx*

To explore video vignettes and brief articles related to the project, go to CanadasHistory.ca/BasquesRegion.

TOP: SOCIÉTÉ D'HISTOIRE ET DE GÉNÉALOGIE DE TROIS-PISTOLES. RIGHT: COURTESY JULIEN GAGNON-ROUILLARD. FAR RIGHT: COURTESY ROBERT MAJEWSKI

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THE BEAVER 1920 2020 100 YEARS

Labrets

Tales and Treasures from the rich legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company

Labrets are facial jewellery traditionally worn mostly by men in holes below each corner of their mouths. The use of labrets is common in many Indigenous cultures, but within Inuit communities it seems to have been restricted to the Mackenzie Delta region and areas further west.

A small incision was made with a slate lancet, and initially a very small labret would have been inserted. The flat plate of the labret was inserted through the hole and worn against the gums, while a post protruded through the hole with a larger piece decorating the face. Gradually larger labrets were inserted over time to stretch the hole in the facial skin to a final diameter greater than a centimetre.

Labrets were made from ground stone, ivory, bone, or coal, with their sizes and shapes varying according to the age of the wearer and his home region. Large blue glass beads similar to those that decorate these late nineteenth-century labrets were traded across the Bering Strait from Siberia, after perhaps coming from China or Korea.

This pair of labrets was purchased from an Inuit elder by J.W. Mills in July 1898, possibly at Fort McPherson, North-West Territories, or along the coast of Alaska. Born in New Brunswick, Mills worked for the Hudson's Bay Company as a captain aboard ships in the Arctic region throughout his thirty-three-year career. When he acquired these labrets, he was at the helm of SS *Wrigley*, a steamer primarily sailing the Mackenzie River.

— Cortney Pachet, assistant curator of the HBC Collection at the Manitoba Museum

ARTIFACTS FROM THE MANITOBA MUSEUM (HBC 51-1) / PHOTO BY ANDREW WORKMAN

HUDSON'S BAY

The Beaver magazine was originally founded as a Hudson's Bay Company publication in 1920. To read stories from past issues, go to **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive**. To explore the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, go to **hbcheritage.ca**, or follow HBC's Twitter and Instagram feeds at **@HBCHeritage.**

Major twentieth-century disease outbreaks in Canada included influenza, smallpox, diphtheria, and polio.

PHOTOGRAPHIC ILLUSTRATION BY JAMES GILLESPIE

AFTER THE PANDEMIC

Following a tumultuous year of lockdowns and loss, Canadians are wondering, what comes next? Canada's experience of past disease outbreaks may provide clues to the post-pandemic future.

by Christopher J. Rutty

IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY, AN INFECTIOUS DISEASE known as "the strangler" killed thousands of Canadian children every year. Coating the throats of its victims in a thick, sticky film, this respiratory illness spread in families and among crowds, often transmitted by people who themselves experienced only mild symptoms.

An antitoxin existed to treat the disease, but no facility in Canada was equipped to produce it. This maddening gap — a treatment theoretically available yet practically and affordably out of reach — galvanized a crusading doctor to establish a production facility in Toronto to ensure a domestic supply for Canadian citizens.

That disease was diphtheria.

Now, a century later, Canada finds itself battling another deadly public-health threat: the COVID-19 pandemic. How will it end? Will we ever return to normal? It has been a surreal, frightening, and transformative experience.

Yet, while it may seem as though we're living through a completely unique situation, Canadians and people around the world have withstood pandemics and epidemics in the past. Some, like the great influenza pandemic of 1918–20, sparked personal or political divisions over wearing a mask, while others, like Ontario's smallpox epidemic of 1919, involved sharp debates over getting vaccinated. Others, like the polio epidemics of the mid-twentieth century, showed the importance of political leadership in creating a strong unity of common purpose against infectious disease threats.

Much can be learned from each of these moments in time. They can help us to understand our current COVID-19 experience and offer insights into how the pandemic may change the shape of our society in the future.

A patient with COVID-19 receives treatment in the intensive-care unit at Zhongnan Hospital in Wuhan, China, in the spring of 2020.

© XIONG QI/XINHUA VIA ZUMA WIRE

CLOSED BORDERS AND QUARANTINES

News about a new disease that we today know as COVID-19 began to emerge on December 31, 2019, with international media reporting cases of a deadly new respiratory virus in Wuhan, China. To Canadians familiar with the SARS epidemic that unfolded in 2003, the stories emerging from China sounded familiar and alarming.

SARS (severe acute respiratory syndrome) first emerged in China in November 2002. It spread quietly for months — mainly in hospitals and among health-care workers — before Chinese authorities notified the World Health Organization about the outbreak on February 10, 2003. By this time, 305 people had fallen ill, a third of whom were nurses or doctors, and five people had died.

Above: A person holds a Canadian flag that reads "SARSTOCK" at the Molson Canadian Rocks for Toronto benefit concert in 2003. Organizers hoped the concert would revive Toronto's tourism industry after a SARS-related downturn. Top right: The cover of the May 2003 issue of *Newsweek* magazine features an article on the SARS pandemic. Right: A sign alerts visitors to Toronto of the threat of SARS in 2003.

One case, involving an infected person who stayed at a hotel in Hong Kong, caused SARS to spread in several directions, including into Canada. A Canadian woman who stayed at the hotel in question contracted SARS though a chance encounter. Unaware of her infection, she returned to Toronto, where she passed on the virus to her son. The woman died at home on March 5, 2003. Meanwhile, her son went to Scarborough Grace Hospital for treatment, sparking a chain of infection among hospital staff.

Fearful of the virus spreading beyond hospitals, Toronto Public Health activated its emergency plan, which among other things called for quarantines of patients with suspicious symptoms as well as their close contacts. It was the first such quarantine order declared in the city in more than fifty years. As Toronto's medical officer of health, Dr. Sheela Basrur, put it, "With this new bug that we couldn't test for, couldn't treat, and couldn't prevent, there was not much else we could do."

By the end of the SARS epidemic, there had been more than 8,400 reported cases and at least 774 deaths globally, including 251 cases and 44 deaths in Canada, mainly in Toronto.

Before vaccines brought infectious diseases such as diphtheria, pertussis (whooping cough), and polio under control, quarantines were fairly common. Those who were quarantined stayed in their homes for a set period of time (depending on the disease) to prevent further spread. If they became ill, they were isolated in hospital. The SARS outbreak in Toronto resurrected the issue of quarantine and also highlighted the weakened state of communicable-disease control in Canada at all levels in 2003, prompting major investigations of the public health system both in Ontario and at the federal level. As a result, the Public Health Agency of Canada was established in 2006, and the federal *Quarantine Act* was strengthened in an effort to prevent the importation of disease threats.

Yet these measures, taken more than a decade ago, did not prevent SARS-CoV-2 (the virus that causes the disease known as COVID-19) from rampaging through Canada starting in early 2020.

In January 2020, Canada's chief medical officer of health, Dr. Theresa Tam, saw the new virus outbreak in China as another possible SARS. However, the reports out of China didn't cause a strong reaction on her part, since she thought the virus was not infecting health-care workers, as SARS had. In reality, the Chinese government had initially attempted to suppress news of the virus, disciplining the doctors who tried to sound warnings about it.

On January 20, the first case in the United States was announced. That day, Tam, who heads the Public Health Agency of Canada, reassured Canadians that the risk posed by the new virus was low: "I don't think there's reason for us to panic or be overly concerned," she tweeted. U.S. President Donald Trump also downplayed the threat, ignoring warnings in intelligence reports regarding the virus's potential of becoming a pandemic. On the very same day, by way of contrast, South Korea reported its first case and immediately mobilized vast resources for testing, screening, and quarantines.

Events moved quickly, as did the virus, including beyond China. The virus turned out to be easily spread between people, transmitting efficiently before symptoms appeared. By January 23, the Chinese government had ordered a strict

TOP LEFT: CBC. TOP RIGHT: NEWSWEEK. BOTTOM RIGHT: COURTESY CHRISTOPHER J. RUTTY

lockdown of the city of Wuhan, which seemed incredible, as did the isolation hospitals that were erected to house the rapidly rising number of infected people. In Canada, the first lab-confirmed case came on January 27.

In early February, several cruise ships were quarantined after the virus spread among passengers and crews. The first afflicted ship, the *Diamond Princess*, entered into quarantine on February 5 while docked at Yokohama, Japan. By the end of the quarantine four weeks later, there had been seven hundred cases and fourteen deaths on board the vessel. These ocean liner outbreaks highlighted the severity of the virus, especially in crowded, semi-enclosed areas. They prompted several countries, including Canada, to deploy special flights to evacuate citizens back to their home countries. Canadian citizens rescued in the airlifts were placed into quarantine. Soon afterwards, the global ocean-cruise industry was thrown into a suspension from which is has not yet recovered. It was becoming very clear that this new virus was much more easily spread than SARS, if perhaps less deadly as a proportion of cases.

On February 12 the novel virus was given its name, SARS-CoV-2, which means "severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2." The disease it causes was labelled "coronavirus disease 2019," or simply COVID-19. At the time, many Canadians and Americans felt somehow immune to what was happening in China.

In the United States, Trump declared on February 27 that the virus "like a miracle" would disappear, despite top-secret briefings that informed him otherwise. In Canada, Tam and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau both resisted calls to close the country's borders to foreign travel from afflicted areas, despite moves by Australia, New Zealand, and the United States to do just that. In a press briefing on March 5, Tam said sealing off borders was not an effective approach to containing the virus, and Trudeau warned against "knee-jerk reactions."

Nevertheless, the virus's rapid spread in Italy and New York City during February and March raised alarms. On February 26 Canada's health minister advised people to stockpile food and medication. Bathroom tissue quickly became the most hoarded item across North America, prompting Ontario Premier Doug Ford to remark: "I still can't get my head around this toilet paper situation." By early March 2020, when COVID-19 forced an unprecedented national lockdown in Italy, the worldwide threat was obvious. On March 11 the World Health Organization finally made it official: The planet was in a pandemic.

What might the world, and Canada, be like today if governments and health authorities around the globe had applied the lessons from SARS to the current outbreak? Allowing SARS to spread quietly for several months in 2002–3 before alerting the world to the threat helped to ensure its unchecked spread beyond China to Canada and several other countries. Did history repeat itself during the beginning of the current pandemic? Will future virus outbreaks be met with swift and decisive global action to stop them in their tracks? Only time will tell.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau wears a mask as he listens to Chief Public Health Officer of Canada Dr. Theresa Tam speak about the COVID-19 pandemic during a conference call in March 2021.

THE CANADIAN PRESS/JUSTIN TANG

LIVES AND LIVELIHOODS UNDER LOCKDOWN

The reality of the pandemic hit home for many North Americans when the National Basketball Association suspended its season on March 11, 2020, after a player from the Utah Jazz tested positive for COVID-19. On March 12, Prime Minister Trudeau's wife, Sophie Grégoire Trudeau, tested positive for COVID-19, forcing their family into quarantine and causing the prime minister to manage the rapidly growing crisis from his home. By late March, all provinces and territories were under states of emergency, prompting varying degrees of school closures, prohibitions against gatherings, the closing of non-essential businesses, restrictions at borders, and self-isolation for returning travellers.

By March 15 there had been 338 cases and one death due to COVID-19 in Canada; by April 23 total COVID-19 cases in Canada hit 42,110, and 2,147 people had died, surpassing the 2,000 Canadians who died during the 1957–58 influenza pandemic, which claimed some four million lives worldwide. By April 12, approximately four billion people, more than half of the earth's population, were in some form of lockdown, an unprecedented global experience.

With COVID-19 cases and deaths rising rapidly in the spring of 2020, fear grew that this pandemic might rival the deadly "Spanish flu" pandemic of 1918–20 — an outbreak that infected at least five hundred million people (a third of the world's population at that time) and left some fifty million dead, including fifty-five thousand Canadians. Yet there are several important differences between, on one hand, the 1918–20 pandemic experience in Canada and its aftermath and, on the other, how the COVID-19 pandemic has so far played out.

In the last months of the First World War, influenza spread around the world relatively slowly on steamships, exacerbated by the movement of troops. It moved across Canada primarily by railway, sparking short-lived, acute,

localized epidemics, before passing on. In Canada, the worst of the second wave of the influenza pandemic lasted from early September through late November 1918, and severe outbreaks rarely struck the same area twice.

Lockdowns were limited, locally applied, and focused on restricting public gatherings to enable physical distancing. Business closures were limited and were mostly the result of sick staff. The National Hockey League continued playing through the thick of the pandemic and only cancelled the final game of the Stanley Cup playoffs in April 1919 when five players and the general manager of the Montreal Canadiens landed in hospital with the flu. (Defenceman Joe Hall died less than a week later.)

The 1918–20 influenza pandemic altered the lives of those who were directly affected. Since young adults were its primary victims — including returning soldiers and family breadwinners — it threatened the economic security of families in an era without any government safety nets. However, its broader socio-economic consequences were dampened by other major epidemics and deadly health threats that persisted during the late 1910s and into the 1920s, such as smallpox, diphtheria, and pertussis. Although the 1918–20 pandemic led to advances in medical research, planning, and international cooperation — as well as the establishment of a federal Department of Health in May 1919 — on the social and economic level, not much actually changed in the pandemic's aftermath.

Today's pandemic has been much more of a shared global event. It has affected large regions in successive waves that have often lasted for months and then recurred. The broad public-health measures, travel bans, and unprecedented lockdowns, implemented and re-implemented over extended periods, have caused much wider and deeper economic effects than was the case after 1918.

COVID-19 has overturned entire industries and shaken the worlds of professional sports and the arts. The Canadian Football League cancelled its 2020 season. The National Hockey League suspended operations in March 2020, later resuming play in "bubbles," with players sequestered in hotels and fans barred from arenas. Sports leagues in other countries made similar pivots. Meanwhile, around the globe, auditoriums fell silent, galleries and museums were shuttered, and movie theatres went dark as public gatherings and events were either severely restricted or banned altogether.

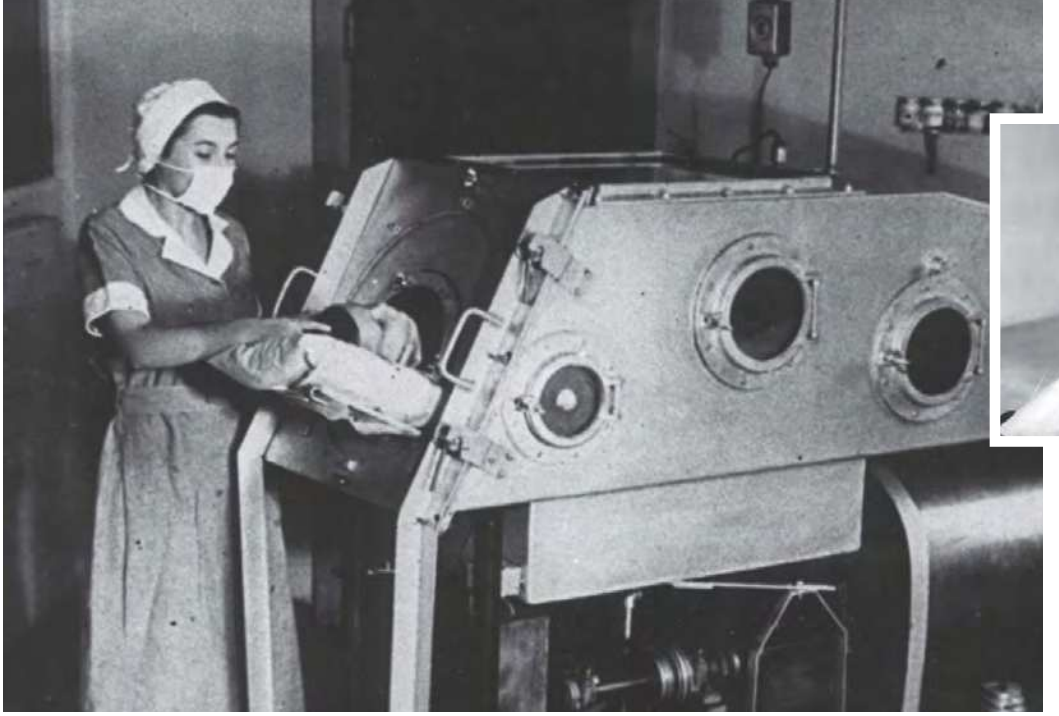
In Canada, federal and provincial economic supports have provided lifelines to businesses and have relieved immediate financial anxieties for many individuals, but they haven't prevented the social and economic fallout of lockdowns. In January 2021, the Canadian Federation of Independent Business estimated that the pandemic could force between 71,000 and 222,000 Canadian businesses to close permanently. In terms of its economic impact, the COVID-19 pandemic has no precedent in Canadian medical history. The ongoing financial hardships caused by COVID-19 have sparked debate over whether Canada should, going forward, provide all Canadians a basic living wage. Indeed, in February 2021, a Liberal Member of Parliament introduced Bill C273, a private member's bill calling for the establishment of a guaranteed basic income for all Canadians. In the wake of COVID-19, will Canada decide to widen its social safety net?

MEDICINE AND MANUFACTURING

As the COVID-19 pandemic worsened in the spring and early summer of 2020, the number of severely ill patients needing ventilators to assist their breathing escalated. Yet ventilators were in short supply, spurring efforts to manufacture them and to deliver them to where they were most needed. A similar need for specialized medical equipment complicated the fight against polio in the early to mid-twentieth century.

Telephone operators wear masks at High River, Alberta, during the 1918–20 influenza pandemic.

GLENBOW ARCHIVES NA-3422-2



Left: A nurse attends to a young polio patient in an iron lung at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children in 1937. Above: A child receives the Salk polio vaccine in 1955.

Waves of polio epidemics hit Canada from the late 1920s through to the 1950s. This devastating disease, known colloquially as "the crippler," is similar to COVID-19 in that cases can vary in severity from mild to deadly. The polio virus weakens or paralyzes various muscles, including those around the lungs, thereby impairing its victims' ability to breathe.

In polio's worst cases, the iron lung, a ventilation machine that uses negative pressure to help patients breathe, was an essential technology. However, iron lungs were often in short supply, since many patients required breathing support for months, years, or even decades. In 1937, at the height of a polio epidemic in Ontario that claimed 199 lives, twenty-seven iron lungs were hurriedly assembled in the basement of Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children.

In the polio crisis of 1953 — a national emergency during which nine thousand people contracted polio and five hundred died — the Royal Canadian Air Force rushed iron lungs around the country. Ground zero of the 1953 epidemic was Winnipeg, where at the peak of the crisis ninety-two polio patients were dependent on iron lungs at the city's King George Hospital.

The COVID-19 pandemic has exposed Canada's dependence on foreign manufacturers, not only for necessary medical equipment like ventilators and N-95 masks but also for life-saving vaccines. Canada approved two vaccines, one produced by Pfizer and BioNTech and the other by Moderna, in December 2020, and limited vaccinations of the most vulnerable groups, especially residents of long-term care homes, began almost immediately. However, in these early stages of the vaccination effort, Canada experienced unexpected delays in receiving promised shipments of vaccines. Meanwhile, the United States was vaccinating its citizens at a rate of more than one million per day by February 2021, rising to more than two million per day in March. As Canada lagged far behind the United States and the United Kingdom in its immunization program, Canadians demanded to know why COVID-19 vaccines were not being produced here at home.

A similar lack of domestic production capacity hampered Canada's efforts to treat diphtheria in the early twentieth century.

In Ontario alone, diphtheria killed thirty-six thousand children between 1880 and 1929. In 1924, a peak of nine thousand diphtheria deaths occurred across Canada. An antitoxin to treat the disease had been discovered in 1890, but Canada had to import the medication from the United States at a price beyond the means of many families with children, who were most vulnerable to the disease.

In response to this situation, the Antitoxin Laboratory (later Connaught Laboratories) was established in 1914 as a self-supporting, public-service-based part of the University of Toronto. The new biologicals research and production facility was tasked with preparing a provincial — and, soon afterwards, national — supply of diphtheria antitoxin as well as other essential biological public-health products, such as smallpox vaccine.

In the summer of 1924, Dr. John G. FitzGerald, founder of Connaught Laboratories, visited the Pasteur Institute in Paris, where he met with Gaston Ramon, who had recently discovered a new method to control diphtheria, called diphtheria toxoid. Similar to a vaccine, it seemed to prevent diphtheria. However, Ramon was not yet able to show how effective the toxoid could be beyond his lab. Confident that Connaught could produce the toxoid, FitzGerald conducted several field trials to put it to the test.

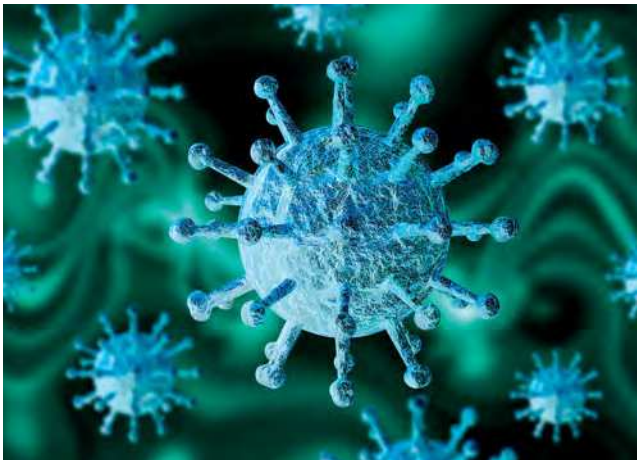
One of the most significant trials took place in Hamilton in 1925. In 1922, there had been 742 cases and 32 deaths due to diphtheria in Hamilton. By 1927, after the introduction of the toxoid treatment, the number of cases fell to 368, with 18 deaths. The downward trend continued: In 1931, there were only five cases and no deaths. The following year, a public-health exhibit proclaimed: "Hamilton Slays a Dragon." A subsequent trial in Toronto demonstrated that three doses of toxoid reduced diphtheria incidence by ninety per cent among

TOP LEFT: HOSPITAL ARCHIVES, HOSPITAL FOR SICK CHILDREN. TOP RIGHT: SANOFI PASTEUR CANADA ARCHIVES

children. This Canadian work preceded efforts in the United States, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere to utilize the toxoid to bring diphtheria under control. Diphtheria toxoid was the first modern vaccine and ushered in a new era of effective prevention of formerly devastating pediatric infectious diseases.

What happened to Connaught Laboratories, which had played such an essential role in the development and production of the diphtheria toxoid and — as we will see later — polio vaccines? Connaught was sold by the University of Toronto in 1972 and privatized. Following several subsequent acquisitions and mergers, Connaught's legacy is today part of Sanofi, which is based in France. Its subsidiary Sanofi Pasteur has been developing a COVID-19 vaccine in collaboration with GlaxoSmithKline, but the Sanofi Pasteur Toronto site — which develops and produces other vaccines and biologicals — has not been directly involved.

However, amid the pandemic's third wave in March, 2021, the federal and provincial governments, and Sanofi Pasteur Ltd., announced a joint $925-million investment to build an influenza vaccine manufacturing facility in Toronto.



A 3D rendering of a microscopic magnification of SARS-CoV-2, the virus that causes COVID-19.

As well, the federal government is funding the construction of a new $126-million vaccine manufacturing facility in Montreal. With a goal to complete construction in July 2021, the new facility will cost an additional $20 million per year to operate. "When it comes to the next pandemic flu we should be self-sufficient," said federal Minister of Innovation, Science and Industry François-Philippe Champagne. "If there's one lesson learned from the current COVID pandemic it is that we need to have a strong Canadian biomanufacturing sector."

POLITICS AND PUBLIC HEALTH

Political leadership, or the lack of it, can greatly impact a society's efforts to fight pandemics. Politics played a critical positive role in ultimately bringing the polio-epidemic era to an end, thanks in large measure to the efforts of an American president, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and a Canadian health minister, Paul Martin Sr., each of whom was afflicted with the disease.

Roosevelt was diagnosed with polio in 1921. Shortly after he became president in 1933, Roosevelt's polio experience inspired the establishment of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. The organization's annual March of Dimes fundraising campaigns to support polio treatment and poliovirus research helped to expedite the development of polio vaccines. As for Paul Martin Sr., he contracted polio as a child in 1907, as did his son (and future prime minister) Paul Martin Jr. in 1946. Spurred on by his experience with polio, Martin Sr. expanded support for public-health research that, when coupled with American funding and research, made possible several key Canadian contributions to the development of the first polio vaccine.

By way of contrast, recent U.S. President Trump publicly downplayed the pandemic from its first emergence in China, despite being made aware of its potential to become a devastating pandemic. He promoted questionable treatments, even suggesting at a press conference in April 2020 that injecting disinfectant might fight the virus in the body. Although Trump later claimed that he was being sarcastic, many of his supporters took his comment seriously, leading some to inadvertently poison themselves. Trump also questioned the importance of mask wearing and physical distancing. Even after Trump himself contracted COVID-19, his counterproductive public-health views and behaviour barely changed. His views and actions — or lack of actions — and their acceptance from his political supporters undoubtedly furthered the spread of the virus and added to its unprecedented U.S. death toll. By the one-year anniversary of the declaration of the pandemic, more than half a million Americans had died of COVID-19.

Public-health politics have defined the COVID-19 pandemic in several ways. In the absence of effective treatments and vaccines, personal strategies, such as handwashing, physical distancing, and wearing masks, provided the only protection for individuals and for communities. Such strategies, especially the enforcement of mask wearing, became politicized during the pandemic, as they did in some cities during the 1918–20 influenza pandemic.

During polio epidemics, the most divisive issue was whether or not school openings should be delayed, because case counts usually rose in the summer and into the fall, when schools normally opened. Were children safer at school under supervision or if left less watched at home or on the streets? The answer varied and was decided locally. The school-closing issue during the COVID-19 pandemic has been further complicated by the challenges of remote learning and its management by parents, many of whom have also been forced to work from home.

Polio patients, mostly children, were often isolated in hospitals specially designated for longer-term treatment, particularly if they were dependent on iron lungs, with visitor contact very limited. For COVID-19 patients in hospitals and long-term care homes, such isolation has been even more strictly enforced. In many cases no visitors were allowed, and many patients died alone, except for tenuous virtual connections to family.

ISTOCK

Above: Cardboard cutouts of fans fill the stands of Winsport Arena in Calgary in early 2021. The arena hosted several major curling competitions in a "bubble" environment devoid of actual fans due to COVID-19. Right: Protesters in Boston, Massachusetts, decry COVID-19-related mask mandates and lockdowns in May 2020.

Subsequent probes into poor conditions at some long-term care homes have sparked demands for reforms to elder care across Canada. Will nursing homes be placed under tighter government control and held to higher standards of care?

At the same time, medical professionals are reporting high levels of COVID-19-related burnout. An aging population will require a robust support system of doctors, nurses, and other medical professionals. But will COVID-19 burnout result in fewer Canadians being willing to serve in the medical field?

Another concern has been "pandemic fatigue" among the general population. Health experts have warned against letting down our collective guard against COVID-19. However, some Canadians have resisted what they see as draconian health restrictions. For example, across the country, citizens, businesses, and churches have been fined for flouting bans on large gatherings, while others have publicly lamented a perceived loss of personal liberties. The United States in particular has seen widespread anger and sometimes-violent protests.

Pandemics test societies in many ways. They can weaken the social fabric and exacerbate divisions. But they can also work to bring us together. A century ago, during the Spanish flu pandemic, Ontarians responded to the health crisis by launching a massive volunteer relief effort. In Toronto, the city established twenty-four-hour supply depots, from which volunteer groups dispensed food, medical supplies, and even nursing care to hundreds of families per day. How will future generations respond to the next pandemic?

VACCINE VACILLATION

Despite his missteps, former U.S. President Trump can be credited for expediting the development, testing, and production of several COVID-19 vaccines through government partnerships with pharmaceutical companies. This initiative, dubbed "Operation Warp Speed," officially launched on May 15, 2020. Through it, the vaccine-development process, which normally takes several years, was compressed into less than a year, without sacrificing regulatory standards. The operation succeeded in bringing the highly effective Moderna vaccine to the public with near miraculous speed. However, this expedited vaccine development raised a variety of concerns among people who were already hesitant about, or strongly opposed to, vaccines.

Historically, anti-vaccination views date back to the discovery of the very first vaccine in the 1790s, which prevented smallpox. Since smallpox vaccine was prepared from cowpox material, which caused a mild smallpox-like infection on the bellies of calves, many people were more fearful of mixing animal and human materials than they were of the deadly effects of smallpox. Such fears of the smallpox vaccine, though they existed among a minority of citizens, helped to contribute to persistent outbreaks and epidemics. Until the mid-1920s, smallpox vaccine was the only effective vaccine that existed. Its preventive value was underscored by the generally low incidence of the disease. However, when it was not used — due to active resistance or passive neglect — outbreaks inevitably resulted.

A significant smallpox epidemic struck in Ontario in 1919, not long after the worst part of the influenza pandemic had passed. The epidemic was exacerbated by active anti-vaccine efforts that were in turn fuelled by misleading claims about the sanitary conditions involved in making the vaccine, and by a public-health policy of compulsory vaccination during smallpox outbreaks.

That epidemic prompted the U.S. government to require proof of vaccination before crossing the international border. The Quebec government imposed a similar restriction at the Ontario provincial border when smallpox broke out in the Ottawa area in 1920–21.

A historic precursor to the Operation Warp Speed plan was the development of the first vaccine to prevent polio during the early 1950s. The polio vaccine plan was led by the U.S.

LEFT: ANDREW KLAVER/CURLING CANADA. RIGHT: CHUCK NACKE / ALAMY

Top left: Vials of the Pfizer-BioNTech COVID-19 vaccine. Top Centre: A long-term-care worker receives a COVID-19 vaccine at the Ottawa Hospital in December 2020. Above: A couple leaves a COVID-19 vaccination clinic in Montreal in March 2021. Bottom left: Canadian seniors fill in paperwork as they await their vaccinations at a COVID-19 mass-vaccination clinic in Toronto in March 2021.

National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis and came to fruition on April 12, 1955.

While Canada is currently relying on COVID-19 vaccines from international suppliers, ironically, half a century ago Canadian researchers led the way in several polio breakthroughs. Connaught Laboratories researchers made three essential contributions to the polio vaccine. In 1948–49 they developed Medium 199, the world's first purely synthetic tissue culture solution; in 1951 they showed that it could support the cultivation of the poliovirus; and in 1953–54 the Connaught team produced enough poliovirus fluids to enable a mass field trial of an inactivated polio vaccine engineered by Dr. Jonas Salk of the University of Pittsburgh. The trial results, announced with great media attention on April 12, 1955, demonstrated that the vaccine was effective in preventing polio. Unfortunately, an incident that became known as the Cutter crisis undermined the polio vaccination program in the United States.

While the Salk polio vaccine field trial was being evaluated, several American pharmaceutical firms began preparing vaccines in hopes of positive trial results. American government testing requirements, which had involved double tests of every batch of the vaccine during the field trial, were relaxed to require tests only for each company, but not for each batch. In Canada, double testing of each batch continued.

Soon after the vaccine had been licensed in the United States and Canada, polio cases were reported in children who received vaccine traced to one firm, Cutter Laboratories in California. This prompted the suspension of the entire United States vaccine rollout. Although Connaught was the sole provider of the vaccine in Canada, uncertainties about the source of the problem — whether it was inherent in the vaccine or due to a production issue with one firm — prompted the question, what should Canada do? Paul Martin Sr., the Canadian health minister, had confidence in Connaught's vaccine and in the Canadian government's testing protocols for it. He decided to let vaccinations continue uninterrupted.

Although the Cutter crisis ultimately led to more robust vaccine production and testing regulations and heightened disease-surveillance systems, it has nevertheless haunted the introduction of new vaccines. The Cutter crisis heightened public sensitivities about vaccine safety, planting the seeds of later vaccine hesitancies. Concerns about the pertussis (whooping cough) vaccine in the 1970s, and suspicions of adverse reactions during a mass influenza-vaccination program in 1976 to prevent a feared pandemic that never materialized, further stoked public skepticism. Vaccine fears were exacerbated in the 1990s by mistaken beliefs that measles vaccine might cause autism. Although definitively discredited, such fears persisted and were magnified in the media and, later, via social media.

Will there be a COVID-19 Cutter crisis? At the time of writing, four COVID-19 vaccines have been approved by U.S. or Canadian regulators and have been used on an increasingly large scale, without adverse reactions in the vast majority of cases. However, in March 2021, the use of the AstraZeneca vaccine was paused in several countries due to its possible connection to potentially fatal blood clotting in a very small number (fewer than 0.001 per cent) of recipients. In Canada, health experts recommended that the vaccine not be given to people under fifty-five. At the time of writing, health officials were examining the data to better assess the safety of the vaccine. Our experiences with COVID-19 vaccines now will undoubtedly impact the acceptance of future new vaccines.

PANDEMIC AFTERMATHS AND POSSIBLE FUTURES

More than a year ago, when the COVID-19 pandemic was officially declared, the prospects of quickly creating and deploying a vaccine to prevent it — let alone several vaccines — seemed poor. The key question now is, will the COVID-19 vaccines end the pandemic?

They will certainly help to end it faster. Most significantly, they will prevent the worst effects of COVID-19: serious illness,

TOP LEFT AND TOP CENTRE: JACOB FERGUS, THE OTTAWA HOSPITAL. RIGHT: THE CANADIAN PRESS/PAUL CHIASSON. LOWER LEFT: THE CANADIAN PRESS/FRANK GUNN

hospitalization, and death. It remains uncertain how effective the vaccines will be in preventing transmission of the COVID-19 virus from people who are vaccinated to other people who are not. Smallpox, diphtheria, and polio vaccines do interrupt the transmission of disease. Early evidence has suggested that COVID-19 vaccination somewhat reduces virus replication in the throat and nose and thus may reduce potential virus transmission. But more evidence is needed to be sure. In the meantime, until most people are vaccinated, wearing masks and physical distancing will have to continue for some time. Another question is whether the vaccines will provide effective protection from current or future COVID-19 variants.

Historically, it took several years before diphtheria was brought under control with diphtheria toxoid in Canada. Similarly, it took years to end polio epidemics after the introduction of the Salk polio vaccine in 1955. Vaccine production limits, along with initial immunization programs targeted to the most vulnerable age group, left people of younger and older ages exposed to polio until larger vaccine production, and new combination vaccines, enabled broader distribution among all age groups. Similarly, the COVID-19 vaccination rollout has initially targeted the elderly and other vulnerable groups, leaving younger people to wait at the back of the line.

There are large gaps in immunization rates between rich and poor countries — a problem that far predates COVID-19. While polio incidence has been close to zero in Canada since the early 1960s, it remained stubbornly high in much of the developing world for decades afterward, reaching some three hundred thousand cases per year in 1988. That year, the World Health Organization launched a global polio-eradication program, which was inspired by the eradication of smallpox in 1979. Much progress has been made in eradicating polio, bringing global case numbers down to the hundreds; but getting to the final goal has been quite challenging, and the COVID-19 pandemic has not helped.

To be even discussing COVID-19 vaccine production and distribution issues involving multiple effective vaccines within one year of the start of the pandemic is quite remarkable. Nevertheless, there are many issues that relate to ensuring the equitable and consistent global accessibility of COVID-19 vaccines. Unevenness in immunization — whether exacerbated by active resistance to vaccination, accessibility challenges for certain groups or communities, or limits in global vaccine distribution and uptake — will only fuel more spread of the virus and the extension of the pandemic, as will the premature relaxation of masking, physical distancing, and public-health restrictions. Currently, there is no real prospect for eradicating COVID-19. We will have to learn to live with its threat, and the threat of its virus variants, for the foreseeable future.

Such uncertainties will complicate a "return to normal" for activities such as concerts or sporting events, especially indoors. Going to crowded restaurants, bars, or church services will remain difficult. International travel will also remain complicated. Through most of the twentieth century, smallpox vaccination certificates were widely required to cross borders, until progress towards smallpox eradication made such certificates unnecessary. Now, countries are seriously debating COVID-19 vaccination passports for people who wish to travel internationally.

For most people who have contracted the disease, a SARS-CoV-2 infection came and went without serious illness. For many, however, the long-term health effects will remain significant. Long-term effects are a common feature of both COVID-19 and polio. Variable physical disabilities, including permanent muscle weakness, are a defining element of polio, and post-polio syndrome has continued to debilitate many patients. Similarly, COVID-19 is leaving some victims with a variety of long-term physical impacts, their collective "long-hauler" experience similar to cohorts of "post-polios" who accumulated in the wake of decades of polio epidemics.

The new normal? People dining at an outdoor patio in Toronto sit within protective plastic tarps in March 2021. The tarps were required as part of the City of Toronto's public-health measures during its "Stage 2" reopening of the economy.

THE CANADIAN PRESS IMAGES/RACHEL VERBIN

For people impacted by the broad economic effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, such as job losses and business closures, the historical precedents are few, at least in Canada since the First World War. The economic impacts of the 1918–20 influenza pandemic were comparatively limited, as were the impacts of other major epidemics like polio. A closer comparison would be with the Great Depression of the early 1930s.

It has been suggested that — assuming that widespread, successful vaccination limits virus transmission and protects against new virus variants — Canadians bursting free from lockdown could very well experience something like the Roaring Twenties again, albeit in a distinctly 2020s version.

What's certain is that future generations will continue to face new viral and bacteriological threats. How well they contain and combat these new pathogens will in many ways be determined by their ability — and their willingness — to learn from past pandemics.

In this illustration comparing a real painting by Cornelius Krieghoff and a forged "Krieghoff" painted by a contemporary painter, Krieghoff's *Calling the Moose*, circa 1860, is seen top left, while the forged version appears bottom right.

INGENIOUS IMITATIONS

Cornelius Krieghoff's acclaimed paintings of nineteenth-century Canada are found in galleries and private collections around the world. But many of the works attributed to him are actually forgeries.

by Jon S. Dellandrea

I AM AN ART COLLECTOR. THIS STORY IS ABOUT HOW HUNDREDS OF "Cornelius Krieghoff" paintings held by galleries and private collectors in Canada and abroad are in fact brilliantly reproduced fakes.

This story is not a work of fiction, and none of the names have been changed to protect the guilty. This is the true account of a quite remarkable period of a modern Wild West art world in which gunslingers (well, brush slingers) ran free on the creative range.

Let's set the scene: It was the 1960s, and in "The Lanes" of Brighton, England, anything could be bought. You could take your pick from "genuine" historical sculptures to great paintings by some of the world's most famous artists. And you could buy them at a fraction of the prices realized at auctions or tony London galleries. The Lanes were warrens of stalls and shops with dealers set up along the sidewalks. This was Portobello of London, the flea markets of Paris, and the Stanley Market of Hong Kong all rolled into one. Treasures could be found in every stall and around every corner.

And, when the treasure hunting was complete, one could find several excellent restaurants nearby. One such establishment was run by an affable Italian who decorated the walls of his establishment with art, all of which was for sale.

The restaurateur was Gabrio Bonaveri, and the establishment was named La Dolce Vito after his early business partner, whose name was Vito. Bonaveri combined the duties of chef, restaurant owner, and art dealer. He had what the art community called "a good eye," the ability to discern quality from worthless junk. But often in The Lanes quality did not equate with authenticity. Quality was a question of how good the piece looked, and that was where the copyists and forgers came into play.

Restaurateur Gabrio Bonaveri.

Bonaveri was a shrewd dealer, and according to those who knew him he was also a bit of a miser who hoarded his money and lived quite simply. Little is known of his background. He described himself as an orphan, but when he died he left his money to his father.

He was, by all accounts, a delightful character who entertained artists in interesting ways. The artists would bring him paintings, and he would bring them food and wine in exchange. The paintings would then hang on the narrow walls of La Dolce Vito, offered for sale. They sold quickly. But not all of this art was what it appeared to be.

OPPOSITE PAGE TOP LEFT: THE THOMSON COLLECTION AT THE ART GALLERY OF ONTARIO 2009/398. OPPOSITE PAGE BOTTOM RIGHT: ARTWORK COURTESY OF JON DELLANDREA / PHOTOGRAPHY BY DOUG NICHOLSON. THIS PAGE: QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

Marie of Montreal, also known as *A moccasin seller outside the artist's studio*, is a circa-1849 painting possibly by Cornelius Krieghoff or Martin Somerville. The artists had studios in the same building in Montreal between 1845–55 and shared a similar style.

Some of the pictures on the walls of La Dolce Vito were genuine. Bonaveri and his restaurant acquired a bit of fame when Canadian industrialist Alfred Bader and his wife, Isobel, patrons of the restaurant, purchased a small dirty painting off Bonaveri's wall.

Bader described the discovery this way: "Years ago, Isobel and I were wandering around Brighton in Sussex, England, looking for somewhere to have a minestrone for lunch. We went into a small restaurant owned by an Italian Gabrio Bonaveri. On the wall were many paintings for sale."

Bader then recounted in a story in the *Queen's Alumni Review* how for 600 pounds sterling he purchased the painting *Adoration of the Shepherds* and how Bonaveri was so pleased with the sale that he did not charge the Baders for their minestrone.

Bader obviously had an eye as good as Bonaveri's, as the dirty little painting was authenticated by the venerable auction house Christie's as the work of none other than the Greek artist El Greco (1541–1614). The masterpiece then went through a sale at the auction, with the purchase price covered by Bader and the painting subsequently donated to Queen's University (Bader's alma mater) in Kingston, Ontario.

In the *Queen's Alumni Review* story, Bader described the transaction: "I sent the painting to Christie's, who accepted it as attributed to El Greco, although it was unpublished. I promised Queen's to cover whatever price it reached at auction and, many years after we bought it, it arrived safely at Queen's."

La Dolce Vito closed in 1993, and paintings that had graced the walls at the time of the closing, as well as those in Bonaveri's storage room, began to appear on the market. Among this collection were a number of excellent examples of the "potboiler" works of Cornelius David Krieghoff.

A word or two on the nature of the potboiler business: Cornelius David Krieghoff (1815–72) was a seriously talented artist. Scholars such as Dennis Reid, Raymond Vezina, and J. Russell Harper have studied his work and written about his life.

Notwithstanding the Dutch Canadian's artistic talent, he also needed to make a living, and good money was to be made by mass producing souvenir paintings to be flogged to British garrison soldiers in Montreal and Quebec in the 1840s. These small, often twenty-by-twenty-five-centimetre paintings were potboilers, so named for providing the artist with the means to "boil the pot" — that is, pay for essentials like food.

Krieghoff and another artist, Martin Somerville, had studios in the same stone building at 26 St. James Street in Montreal, and they produced similar works. Surviving from this period is a lovely painting, entitled *Marie of Montreal*, of a Caughnawaga woman standing in front of the building circa 1849. She is holding moccasins for sale. The painting is pictured in J. Russell Harper's 1979 book *Krieghoff*.

Marie of Montreal reappeared in London, England, on April 1, 2015, at the Christie's sale of items from the Winkworth Collection that had been amassed by Peter Winkworth (1929–2005). Christie's held a sale preview at the Gardiner Museum in Toronto.

There, art historian Dennis Reid and I had the pleasure of standing side by side viewing what Reid described as "a lovely little picture." The painting was offered as attributed to either Cornelius Krieghoff or Martin Somerville. Even though the moccasins are wrong, I believe it to be Somerville's work — but who knows?

I will now make a personal confession: I was the underbidder at the Christie's auction for this painting, and it is the only painting that I have ever deeply regretted not buying. I set an upper limit on what I was willing to bid and missed the purchase by a few thousand dollars. My consolation prize was another smaller version of *Marie of Montreal* attributed to Somerville that now hangs proudly on my wall.

So, in the 1840s, Somerville and Krieghoff were engaged in producing attractive art for the masses. No one is certain of the quantities produced, but most certainly they were in the hundreds, perhaps many hundreds.

The subjects were often Indigenous figures, such as moccasin and basket sellers, hunters, and families out in snowy terrain. They were handsomely done, skilfully executed, and are now consequently quite valuable.

Finding these small Kreighoff paintings in the United Kingdom is not unusual. The 1840s garrison soldiers returned to their home countries with their souvenirs, and

ARTWORK COURTESY OF JON DELLANDREA

Top: Shoppers browse for deals in The Lanes in Brighton, England. Above left: A genuine Cornelius Krieghoff painting, *Indian Woman, Moccasin Seller*, was created circa 1855. Above centre left: A Krieghoff forgery, *The Moccasin Seller*. Above centre right: Krieghoff's *Indian Hunter*, painted circa 1855. Above right: *Indian Hunter on Snowshoes,* a forged Krieghoff.

over time the art passed from one generation to the next. The value of the paintings increased substantially with each passing generation. One can imagine the excitement of a patron of La Dolce Vito spotting a small Krieghoff for sale at a modest price on the walls of the restaurant.

I am an art collector, an art detective, a writer, and an art historian, but most of all I am a treasure hunter. I love finding lost interesting things that turn up mysteriously. While I was in university, my future mother-in-law and I dug through an abandoned nineteenth-century railway dump, discovering antique bottles and pots. (I financed a bit of my university education by selling them.) As scuba divers, my wife, Lyne, and I explored the depths of the Mattawa and St. Lawrence rivers. As antique and Canadiana collectors we haunted the weekend markets and country auctions in search of treasure. But then, in the mid-1990s, along came eBay. This was a treasure seeker's dream. Millions of items from all over the world were suddenly at our fingertips.

A revolution was happening in the art world. Overnight, the volume of available art increased exponentially. Some was good, some great, some terrible, some genuine. And then there were a whole lot of fakes.

But back to the story of how I got involved in all of this. In 2014, twenty-one years after the closing of Bonaveri's restaurant, a rather attractive Krieghoff potboiler depicting an Indigenous hunter on snowshoes was offered for sale on eBay. I corresponded with the sellers, Peter and Joanna Bryan, and learned that the painting had come from an Italian restaurant that had operated near Brighton, England. A purchase of this painting, at a not totally modest price, was negotiated, and thus began this journey of discovery.

Joanna Bryan wrote to me and said, "There are, I think, other examples of these works in the garage. I will do my best to empty out the garage and find them. I know that another buyer bought some of Gabrio's collection that decorated the restaurant. I will ask him if he has anything left from the parcel, although I remember that initially he put some through the local auction. It is worth asking him, however."

One month later Joanna Bryan wrote back to say, "The garage and shed yielded three additional snow scenes which were stored on edge in a box. They had become a little dirty as I suspect that the surface of the paint was a trifle sticky from their days in the restaurant, with the nicotine and catering activities. They are being lightly cleaned and revarnished."

Over the subsequent two years I acquired another ten paintings from the Bryans that had clearly been executed

TOP: ALAMY FTJ7GA. BOTTOM ROW, LEFT TO RIGHT: PHOTO © CHRISTIE'S IMAGES / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES. ARTWORK COURTESY OF JON DELLANDREA / PHOTOGRAPHY BY DOUG NICHOLSON. THE THOMSON COLLECTION AT THE ART GALLERY OF ONTARIO 2009/401. ARTWORK COURTESY OF JON DELLANDREA / PHOTOGRAPHY BY DOUG NICHOLSON

by the same hand. The burning question was, whose hand? Krieghoff? Somerville? Or someone else entirely?

The signatures were right. The canvasses and stretchers were mid-nineteenth century. The subjects were accurate, but something was just not right.

The Krieghoff paintings that I acquired from Joanna and Peter Bryan over several years were "cleaned" before they were sent to me. Upon receipt of said paintings I was gobsmacked! They were bloody brilliant. And therein lay the problem.

They were too brilliant. The small canvasses were old and grubby on the back and clean and shiny on the front. The images were delicately done. The skies were perfect Krieghoff skies. The snow puffed up through the hunter's snowshoes, and the snowflakes were divine.

The paintings were so clean that it was hard to imagine that they had been painted 175 years ago. Was it more likely that they had been painted forty years or so ago, about the time Bonaveri opened his restaurant? And, if so, by whom?

Top: Two Krieghoff forgeries, likely painted by art forger Max Brandrett, were purchased by the author in Brighton, England. Above: The author's fake Krieghoffs were painted on old canvasses and mounted on authentic-looking canvas stretchers, helping to create the illusion that the paintings were indeed genuine.

Why did I keep acquiring these suspect paintings? I guess I did it because they were enigmatic mysteries.

The paintings found their place on my walls, and I enjoyed looking at them every day. But this little project of discovering their true provenance was tucked away as I diligently tried to finish writing the book on the subject of the famous Canadian art fraud case of 1962–64. This concerned a flood of Canadian art forgeries of the works of well-known painters, including members of the Group of Seven.

The Brighton Krieghoffs project would most likely have remained on the shelf were it not for an email I received in early October 2020 from Peter Bryan. The email was to apologize for not having adequately responded to my request some years earlier for more information about the origins of the paintings.

Now for a bit of background on the Bryans: Peter was born and raised in Brighton. As a youngster he hung out in Brighton's pool halls with the "knockers," some of whom went on to become big international dealers. (A knocker is someone who goes door to door looking for old art and antiques to buy at bargain prices and, in this case, intends to resell them in The Lanes of Brighton at a considerable profit.) Over his career Bryan was a model, an art dealer, an artist, a Brighton pub owner, and a friend of Gabrio Bonaveri.

Peter Bryan met Joanna in the 1970s when she was a student at Eastbourne College of Art. Together they sold more than a few paintings over the years. Joanna was also a friend of Bonaveri, and Peter had met Max Brandrett, a local forger, years earlier through a fellow tavern keeper. Brighton was a small world, and art, both genuine and fake, was at its centre.

Over the days following Peter Bryan's initial email, he and I had a series of fascinating exchanges about the characters and forgers of twentieth-century Britain. I learned about Tom Keating, one of Britain's most famous forgers; of David Henty, now regarded as the best forger in the world; of William Mumford, a.k.a. "Billy the Brush," who produced thousands of quality fake paintings; and about Max Brandrett, the protege of Keating and a hugely colourful figure in the world of art forgery.

Some of these characters went to jail for their efforts. After serving time, they became celebrities. Some, like Brandrett and Mumford, are now doing quite well financially, selling copies of great art under their own names, rather than passing off fakes.

One of the sellers is Jim Hartey of the Global Art Gallery at the Bridge House Antiques Market at Langham, England. Hartey is selling great imitations of Chagall, Picasso, Modigliani, and Stubbs. All are the products of William "Billy the Brush" Mumford.

In an article in *Dorset Life* magazine about Mumford, titled "Art for Art's Sake," Hartey is quoted as saying, "Billy can paint as well as many of the greats, yet none of them could paint like the others. The major art houses were

ARTWORK COURTESY OF JON DELLANDREA / PHOTOGRAPHY BY DOUG NICHOLSON

SLEIGHTS OF HAND

This rogue's gallery of immensely skilled art forgers fooled experts everywhere.

William "Billy the Brush" Mumford (born 1949)

William Mumford of West Sussex, England, sold more than one thousand forgeries, many through the major auction houses of the world. There are likely hundreds in circulation. Some of his paintings sold for as much as thirty thousand pounds (about 51,000 dollars). In 2012, he was jailed for two years for selling a total of more than six million pounds worth of forged paintings to unsuspecting buyers. According to British art dealer James Hartey, "Billy Mumford is one of the greatest living art forgers of all time." During his career in forgery, Mumford managed to swindle international art experts and sold paintings through Sotheby's, Christie's, Bonhams, and other major auction houses. Today, he sells "versions" and interpretations of other artists' paintings online.

David Henty (born 1958)

David Henty is perhaps the world's best living copyist. From Brighton, England, Henty was jailed in the mid-nineties for forging passports for people fleeing Hong Kong prior to the handover of the territory to China in 1997. While in prison, Henty took an art class and discovered that he had a talent for mimicking other artists. For years, he sold copies of paintings by artists such as Pablo Picasso, Leonardo da Vinci, and Vincent van Gogh. In 2014, a newspaper probe outed him as an art forger. Ironically, the publicity surrounding the story launched his career as a professional art copyist. On his personal website, Henty claims to have fooled "scientists and art critics alike" thanks to his rigorous attention to detail. However, he refuses to fake the signatures of others.

Tom Keating (1917–84)

Tom Keating of Forest Hill, England, began to paint and to sell forged art in the early 1960s. According to media reports, he sold more than two thousand fake paintings, earning several million dollars before his duplicity was discovered in the 1970s. In 1966, Keating met Max Brandrett – the art forger who likely painted the author's fake Krieghoffs. Keating, who also produced Krieghoff forgeries, became Brandrett's mentor in the forgery game. In an online article about the world's greatest art forgers, writer Adriana John called Keating "a singular character among the ingenious forgers. His aim was not merely to make a fortune. It was rather to dismantle the entire system of the art business, which he hated on principle. He believed it to be rotten and corrupt, where credit went to those undeserved."

Max Brandrett (born 1948)

A skilful painter, Barnardo boy, street hustler, and art forger turned celebrity, Max Brandrett of East Sussex, England, most likely painted the Krieghoff potboilers. According to a November 2020 article in the British newspaper *Daily Mail*, "Max the Forger" was jailed three times for faking famous masterpieces: "Max left Barnardo's Children's Home to join the circus at age fifteen – where he groomed the elephants for two years and painted the trucks, which prompted him to study art." Brandrett's chance meeting with art forger Tom Keating in 1966 set him on a course to be the hand that painted the "Brighton Krieghoffs." Where the remainder of Brandrett's Krieghoffs are today, no one is quite sure. Brandrett, meanwhile, continues to sell copies of other artists' works – but under his own name.

TOP LEFT: BOURNEMOUTH ECHO. TOP RIGHT: ALAMY. IGMYNB
BOTTOM LEFT: JOHN DEE/SHUTTERSTOCK/ 61465A. BOTTOM RIGHT: MIDSUSSEX TIMES/SWNS.COM

taken in and they hate him for it. Of the 1,100 paintings he made only forty came back."

Mumford's work did not include my Krieghoff paintings. However, I was getting warmer.

Curiously, coincidentally, or serendipitously, the U.K. *Daily Express* on October 7, 2020, carried an interview with Brandrett. Why was this interview important to me? Simply because all roads seemed to be leading to Brandrett as the skilled hand that had painted the Brighton Krieghoffs.

I had sent images of my Krieghoffs to David Henty and to "Billy the Brush." They, along with Peter and Joanna Bryan, were ninety-nine-per cent convinced that the paintings were the work of Brandrett.

Brandrett had been a friend of Gabrio Bonaveri of La Dolce Vito fame and frequented the restaurant to engage in Bonaveri's art-for-food exchange and to sell him paintings. Somewhere along the line, someone, perhaps Tom Keating, had inspired Brandrett to realize that there was money to be made in the Krieghoff potboiler business.

I tracked Brandrett down and engaged in a series of most spirited email exchanges followed by several phone conversations. I then sent him images of my paintings, and he responded: "Jon, it is my work. Tom [Keating] did not do detailed paintings. Tom did shipping scenes and Dutch winter paintings. Good to see mine again, 'quite cracking' and very good."

Brandrett told me that he had produced these paintings in some quantity years previous but could not recall exactly how many. One thing is certain: The quantity produced was much greater than the dozen I acquired. Many others are still out there.

When I remarked to him that he had done an excellent job with the Krieghoff signature, he replied, "That is the easy part. You just trace it out of a book."

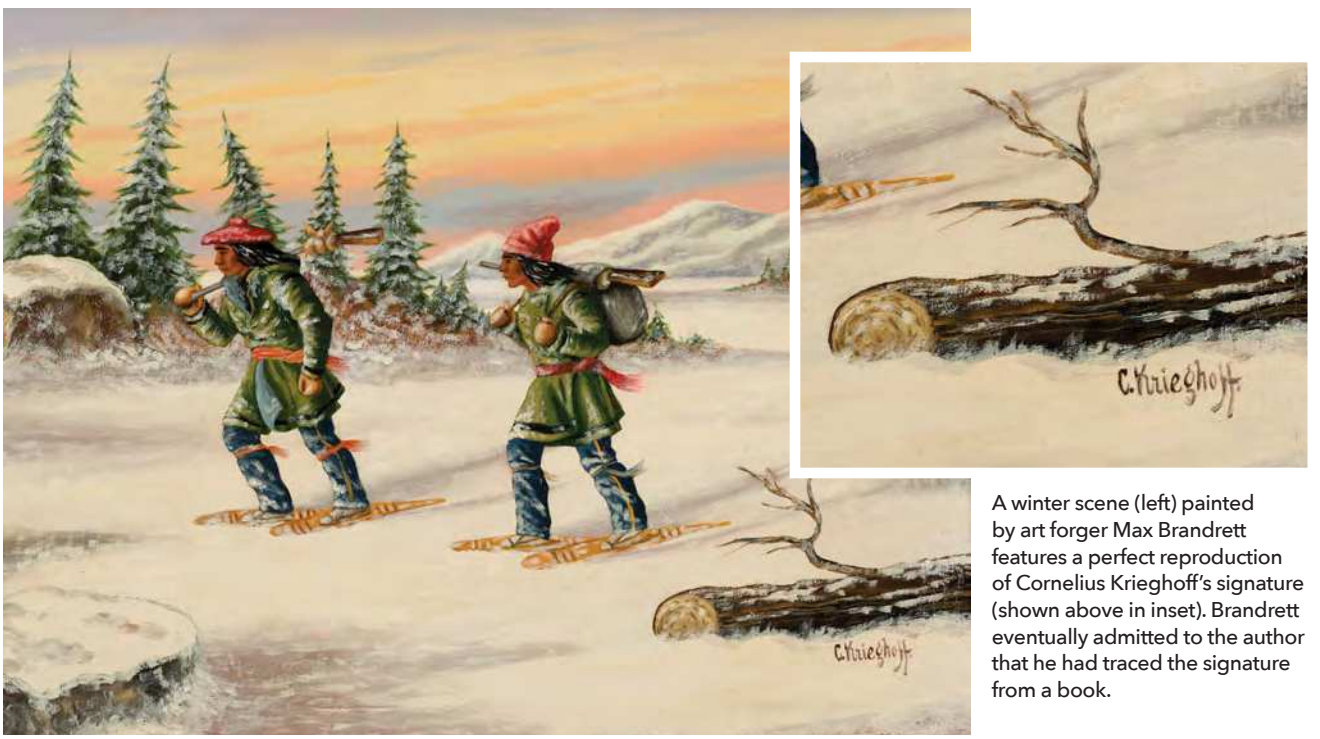
A documentary is being made about Max. David Henty is doing TV shows. "Billy the Brush" seems to be doing more than okay.

Krieghoff fakes are everywhere. Dennis Reid once said to me, "There has long been a rumour of a Krieghoff 'factory' somewhere in Europe." When I repeated the comment to Peter Bryan, he said, "Europe is the Krieghoff factory."

A company named Freemanart Consultancy provides a service of "fake and forgery detection." About Krieghoff, its website states: "Worthy of note, some serious concern, and caution, is that the notorious British faker of paintings, Tom Keating, admitted to having painted hundreds of fake Krieghoff paintings in his illustrious career. None of which have been recovered to this day. With, undoubtedly, many clearly making their way into private collections and Canadian Galleries across the Dominion."

I was still uncertain about the scope and scale of the Brighton Krieghoff production. Subsequent correspondence with Peter Bryan began to paint a picture (pun intended) of the magnitude of the enterprise. Bryan told me that he had purchased a "small collection" from Bonaveri, which he sold on eBay to a trader in New York. Bonaveri, according to Bryan, had sold some at local auction, and, apparently, I purchased the rest.

Bryan reminisced, "I remember seeing a parcel of Krieghoffs whilst having dinner with Gabrio, and they were spattered with white emulsion [paint] from careless decorating, leaving the pictures on the wall, I think. Also …



A winter scene (left) painted by art forger Max Brandrett features a perfect reproduction of Cornelius Krieghoff's signature (shown above in inset). Brandrett eventually admitted to the author that he had traced the signature from a book.

ARTWORK COURTESY OF JON DELL'ANDREA / PHOTOGRAPHY BY DOUG NICHOLSON

Left: *Cheating the Toll*, a Krieghoff copy possibly by art forger Tom Keating.

Above: *Bilking the Toll Gate*, an 1861 painting by Cornelius Krieghoff.

Gabrio liked to cook at the table, which was popular, but made a bit of a mess with the smoke, steam, tomato splashed [on the paintings] et cetera. He asked Albert Williams [a well-known floral painter] to clean them." Joanna Bryan told me that Williams tended to over-clean, which is the likely explanation for why the paintings arrived in such shiny condition.

As for Bonaveri, he died in 2012 at the age of seventy-three. A tribute note produced for his funeral stated, "A tutti coloro che conobbero e l'amarono perché rimanga vivo il suo ricordo" (To all those who knew and loved him so that his memory remains alive).

The residue of the Wild West is still with us. As one Brighton art figure said to me of the Brighton crowd, "You wouldn't let any of these guys marry your sister, and they would take credit for the Lindbergh kidnapping if they thought it would bring them greater fame and notoriety." Tom Keating's many Krieghoff paintings are unaccounted for. Max Brandrett's brilliant potboilers are scattered across Europe and North America. Many galleries and private collections contain valued examples of the great work of Cornelius Krieghoff that are actually forgeries.

In 1977, Tom Keating and writers Frank and Geraldine Norman collaborated on a book, *The Fake's Progress: Tom Keating's Story*. The foreword begins: "This is not the story of an international jet-set picture faker. It is the story of a Cockney housepainter with a burning desire to be an artist and an extraordinary facility for innovation."

On fake Krieghoffs, *Maclean's* magazine in 1979 had this to say: "The forgery problem in the works of Cornelius Krieghoff (1815–1872), one of Canada's most internationally famous artists, is legendary. Dr. J. Russell Harper, a leading Krieghoff scholar who returned earlier this year from testifying at the Keating trial in London, believes that of the 200 Krieghoffs Keating claims to have done, none has yet found its way into Canada. This is small relief in light of the fact that of the 1,200 Krieghoffs that Harper has examined in Canada, 800 are 'wrong.'"

Notwithstanding Harper's observation, Geraldine Norman, in the preface to *The Tom Keating Catalogue: Illustrations to The Fake's Progress*, observed, "It is not unreasonable to assume that many of his Krieghoffs have found their way to Canada."

Provenance can be faked, but provenance can also be substantiated. The Art Gallery of Ontario houses the wonderful Thomson collection representing some of the best of Krieghoff's work. No Keating products and no Brighton Krieghoffs are there, but there are many elsewhere. The problem is that we simply do not know where they are all located or when they will appear on the market.

So, are we left with nothing more than the cold comfort of *caveat emptor* (buyer beware)? I think not. This country is blessed with highly educated and talented art historians and scholars.

We have experienced art dealers and more than a few very reputable and equally experienced auction houses. Like any other important investment decision, homework is a really good idea. As Geraldine Norman observed: "The art market, in fact, is a jungle through which the only reliable guide is your own knowledge."

LEFT: ARTWORK COURTESY OF JON DELLANDREA / PHOTOGRAPHY BY DOUG NICHOLSON. RIGHT: MCCORD MUSEUM M967.100.14

CANADIAN PACIFIC
C.P.R
CPR
93
OKRĘTY
93.
GRODZIEŃSKA
CPR
KANADĄ
AMERYKĄ
C.P.R
CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY
EKSPEDYCJA PASAŻERÓW
POCZTOWO-POSPIESZNYMI
OKRĘTAMI PASAŻERSKIMI
DO KANADY i AMERYKI
TO CANADA
C PR
TO AMERICA
C.P.R
CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY
SPRZEDAŻ BILETÓW
OKRĘTOWYCH
DO KRAJÓW MIĘDZYNOWO
KANADY
i AMERYKI

160 ACRES
(250 MORGEN)
FREI
200 MILLIONEN ACRES
IM WESTLICHEN
CANADA
FÜR
JEDEN
ANSIEDLER

MONTROSE
LIVERPOOL

ESCAPE FROM RUSSIA

The CPR helped thousands of immigrants from central and eastern Europe move to Canada in the early twentieth century. But for some the journey here was a harrowing experience. *by Gerrie Kautz*

IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NIGHT IN LATE NOVEMBER 1928, NATALIA KAUTZ AND her family snuck out of their farm in what is now northwestern Ukraine on two horse-drawn wagons. With the threat of being apprehended by Russian authorities looming over them, the four adults and five children began the first leg of a long and difficult journey to Canada that had been arranged by the Canadian Pacific Railway. Already traumatized by exile in Siberia and by the impending confiscation of their farm by the communist government, the Kautzes hoped for a better future in a strange new land. They were setting out on what would be an eventful, sometimes frightening journey. And, like many immigrants of that time, their lives were in the hands of the CPR.

At the time, the CPR played a major role in bringing immigrants to Canada. A 1925 agreement with the Canadian government allowed the CPR and the Canadian National Railway to control the recruitment and settlement of European farmers. The CPR, which had ocean-going ships, took on most of the work. The railway ran extensive advertising in more than forty countries, with the goal of getting immigrants to set up farms on land near the railway. Their eventual crops would be shipped on the railway's trains and ships, while machinery and other goods would be delivered to the farmers.

It was a win-win-win situation — for the railway, for the immigrants, and for Canada.

Natalia Kautz — my grandmother — had never heard of Canada until she read an article and accompanying CPR advertisement in her Lutheran church newspaper. As for many German-speaking people living in the Russian Empire at the time, her situation had grown increasingly precarious. She and her family had been exiled to Siberia in 1915 during the First World War, because the Russian government believed they would side with the advancing German Army. The Volhynian Germans were later returned home by the Russian government when Germany and Russia made a separate peace before the end of the war.

Natalia and her husband, Friedrich Kautz, owned a farm in the village of Heimtal in Volhynia, a predominantly German region in what was then part of the Russian Empire. From 1917 to 1923 Volhynia was on or near the battle fronts of four European conflicts, including the Ukrainian-Soviet War, the Polish-Ukrainian War, the Polish-Soviet War, and the Russian Civil War.

The years after the First World War were very difficult as the family rebuilt their farm from the ravages of the war while suffering the murdering, stealing, and other atrocities

Opposite page, top section, clockwise from left: A Canadian Pacific Railway immigration recruiting agency in Poland circa 1920–32. German-speaking Mennonites from the Soviet Union prepare to board the CPR steamship *Bruton* at Libau, in modern-day Latvia, circa early 1900s. A Ukrainian mother and child during the Holodomor, the man-made famine of 1932–33 that killed millions of Ukrainians. Deserting Russian soldiers during the Russian revolution of 1917. Opposite page centre: A German-language brochure offers free land to Eastern Europeans willing to move to Canada. Opposite page, bottom section, clockwise from top left: A family stands on the deck of the CPR steamship SS *Montrose* circa the early 1900s. Overstone School in Overstone, Manitoba, in 1925. Immigrants from Central Europe arrive in Winnipeg circa the 1920s. The SS *Montrose* in Montreal circa early 1900s.

TOP SECTION CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: CP ARCHIVES A8119-8. CP ARCHIVES A15403. ALAMY 2B02RB2. ALAMY KCETW0. CENTRE SECTION: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA C-089534. BOTTOM SECTION CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: CP ARCHIVES N518393. ARCHIVES OF MANITOBA, SCHOOL INSPECTORS PHOTOGRAPHS, GR8461, A0233, C131-2. LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA C036148. LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA A06872-6-V8

Above: Communist troops carry a banner that translates as "communism" during the Russian Revolution in October 1917. Left: A map shows the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Volhynia region, which at the time of the Kautz family's departure for Canada was home to a minority population of German-speaking Ukrainians.

committed by marauding soldiers of the four successive wars.

Then a new threat emerged — Joseph Stalin and the communists. In 1928 they proclaimed the first five-year plan to rapidly industrialize the Soviet economy. This included the government taking over farms and making them collectives run by communist bureaucrats. The farmers would work on the farms as labourers or be deported to slave-labour camps.

The Kautzes wished to avoid this fate. With the help of the Lutheran Church and the CPR Department of Colonization and Development, they obtained documentation to immigrate to Canada. The local church produced birth certificates based on the records they had, enabling the family to obtain Russian passports. Interestingly, the passports were in Russian, Ukrainian, and French. (The latter was the diplomatic language of the time.)

When the time came to leave their farm, they fled at night to avoid a potential confrontation with local authorities. Natalia described details of their flight in interviews that I recorded in the 1970s. She said that she, Friedrich, and her parents rode in one wagon, and the five children rode in another. They travelled to Zitomir, then boarded a train that took them to Moscow, where, to their relief, they were met by a CPR employee who took them to a local hotel leased by the company. There they were processed, which first involved stripping naked and showering with cold water while their clothes and belongings were disinfected in ovens. Russian staff stole Natalia's jewellery while this was happening; it was a humiliating experience that affected Natalia all her life.

Next came interviews with Canadian government officials and medical inspections by a local Russian doctor hired by the CPR. When the doctor saw that Friedrich was missing three toes from a farming accident, he threatened to stop the immigration unless Friedrich paid him a bribe. Friedrich made the payment, one of many he made to get his family out of Russia.

By their third day in Moscow, they were cleared to start their journey and received an envelope full of travel documents. The most important document was a Canadian Pacific Railway Department of Colonization and Development identification card, which would enable the family to travel all the way to Winnipeg. Friedrich was identified as "The Bearer … accompanied by wife Natalia and 7 souls proceeding on SS *Montclare* sailing from Liverpool on 21 Dec 1928."

Friday, November 30, 1928 — perhaps the most significant date in the life of the family — was the day they left the Soviet Union. They were taken to a special platform at the Moscow train station, where a train was waiting for them. They did not know it at the time, and probably never knew in their lifetime, that the train they were about to board was leased by the CPR for the sole purpose of carrying emigrants out of Russia on their way to Canada.

But, before they could leave, they had to suffer one last indignity by the Russian authorities. They were all thoroughly

TOP LEFT: MATT SCHELLENBERG. TOP RIGHT: ALAMY. BOTTOM: COURTESY OF GERRIE KAUTZ

The Kautz family in Volhynia, Ukraine, in 1928 prior to their departure for Canada.

searched, including their boots and shoes that they had to remove. The harassment ended only after Friedrich bribed the lead official with the last of the Russian rubles he had. Once on the train, Friedrich and Natalia relaxed a bit. They saw many other emigrant families in the same situation. When the conductor announced that they had crossed the border into Latvia, a loud cheer went up from everyone on the train.

In Riga, Latvia, the family spent two weeks in quarantine at an immigration camp. Their living quarters were in a large building that housed many other families, with curtains dividing the family areas. They ate soup or stew in a communal eating area. According to Natalia, "The food in the Riga camp was not bad. I don't remember what it was, but we didn't starve."

Natalia was surprised to learn that the immigrant families came from many parts of Russia, including the Volga region, the Crimea, and some from Poland as well. The camp was also full of rumours. One rumour was that if you had dandruff you would not be allowed to go to Canada. So everyone went to a small kiosk set up outside the camp by a local entrepreneur to buy bottles of what they were told was dandruff-removing shampoo.

The ship to England seemed very large to the Kautz family, who had never seen such a vessel. They were given two cabins, one for the females and the baby Sighard, and another for the males. The meals on the ship introduced them to their first Western food, including Jell-O moulded in the form of a rabbit, which fascinated the kids. At the first breakfast on the ship, they could not understand the English waiters' attempts to explain that they should put milk and sugar on their porridge. This was something they never did back in Volhynia.

Unfortunately, shortly after they sailed, Natalia, who was pregnant, became very seasick. She spent most of the voyage in her bed, eating nothing, drinking only water, and occasionally vomiting into a small pail.

After five days on the Baltic and North seas, the ship's rocking motion eased as it made its way up the Thames River to London. A CPR official met the immigrants and led them through the customs and immigration lines, where their passports were stamped with "Landed as Transmigrant Under Bond 17 Dec 1928 Immigration Officer London." Their escort then took them to a station where they boarded a train to the port of Liverpool.

In Liverpool another CPR official met the family and took them to a hotel for a few days. This was a great adventure for the kids, who took in all of the fascinating wonders — such as motor cars — of a large western European city.

On December 21 they were taken to the Liverpool docks, where they boarded SS *Montclare*, the Canadian Pacific Steamship Company ship that would take them to Canada. As they boarded, each person was briefly inspected by medical staff. Natalia carried baby Sighard in a blanket because he was not feeling well that morning.

As the ship left the dock and headed for the open sea, the immigrants were led down into a dining room for breakfast. Suddenly there was an announcement in English, which made some people gasp. Natalia did not understand what was said, but the words "mother and child on board" stayed with her the

Top: The passport documents of Natalia Kautz. The documents, issued in the Soviet Union, featured three languages: Russian, Ukrainian, and French. Above left: The passport photo of Natalia Kautz shows her sitting with four of her children. Above right: The passport photo of Friedrich Kautz.

rest of her life. Within minutes the doctor who had inspected them as they boarded the ship, accompanied by two other ship staff, marched directly towards Natalia. The doctor took Sighard and looked at him closely. The doctor then said something to the other crewmen and walked away with the baby. One of the crewmen gently took Natalia's arm, and they followed the doctor.

Meanwhile, the ship had turned around and headed back to Liverpool, returning to the dock it had left only a few hours earlier. Not knowing what was going on, Natalia followed the doctor carrying Sighard down the hurriedly reinstalled gangplank and into an ambulance waiting on the dock. It all happened quickly, and Natalia could do nothing but follow the doctor who was carrying her baby. The rest of the family watched helplessly from the ship, not knowing what to do as the *Montclare*

IMAGES COURTESY OF GERRIE KAUTZ

A Canadian Pacific Railway recruiting poster invites immigrants to move to Canada to take up farming.

FROM EAST TO WEST

The first waves of immigrants to Canada came from France and Britain, but by the late 1800s fewer and fewer citizens of these countries were willing to relocate here. With the United States eyeing Canada's western territories, pressure mounted to find new peoples to populate the prairie region, and Canada began to target potential immigrants living in Eastern Europe. According to a 2016 Canadian census profile, Ukrainians today make up the largest bloc of Eastern European immigrants (1.36 million), followed by Poles (1.1 million) and Russians (600,000).

pulled away from the dock and again headed out to sea.

Aboard the ship, the doctor and a German-speaking crewman explained to Friedrich and the family that the baby had the measles, making it necessary to get him off the ship as quickly as possible. This was a serious blow to the family, particularly the small children. Friedrich knew that Natalia was a strong woman, but he worried about how she would be able to find them in Canada. Unfortunately, he was helpless to do anything about it.

The family arrived in Saint John, New Brunswick, ten days later. From there they travelled by train across snow-covered Canada to Winnipeg, and then to the small town of Ridgeville, located about ninety kilometres south of the city. There they were met by their sponsoring family and taken to their new home in Overstone, Manitoba.

Meanwhile, back in Britain Natalia was living a nightmare. When she got into the ambulance waiting on the dock, Sighard was given back to her. The ambulance took off immediately, without any explanation to Natalia. She had no idea where they were going or what would happen to them. They drove on and on. Natalia recalled that she "thought they were driving us to the end of the world."

She knew that Sighard was sick, but she did not know what was ailing him. She thought briefly about the rest of the family, and then she remembered that all of her belongings were on the ship. She had nothing with her. What would she do? And where were they taking her?

Finally the ambulance pulled into a driveway, through a garden, and up to a vine-covered building. A nurse in a white cap and long, white, starched cuffs came out of the building. She spoke a few words with the driver and then said something to Natalia in English that Natalia did not understand. Natalia knew that the nurse wanted Sighard, and she reluctantly passed the sleeping baby to her, expecting to accompany them into the hospital. But the nurse abruptly took Sighard into the building. Natalia was left dumbfounded and panicking in the ambulance as the driver quickly drove away.

She was driven to the Liverpool hotel where they had stayed earlier. There she was met by a female hotel employee. Natalia frantically asked in German what was going on, but the woman could not understand German, and Natalia could not understand English. The hotel worker could only escort the distraught woman to a room in the hotel.

Natalia spent a very bad night. She tried to sleep, but there was just too much on her mind. She was frantic about what they would do to Sighard. She had lived through four wars in her old country, when life meant very little, especially children's lives. Would these people here in England be the same? Would she ever see Sighard again? Then, as an afterthought, she wondered whether she would ever again see the rest of her family?

In the morning the hotel employee visited Natalia, who was glad to see the woman whom she now considered her only friend in this strange land. "Boy good," the woman repeated. Natalia did not understand the word "boy" but did understand the word "good." This made her feel better, as she followed the woman to a vehicle and was driven back to the hospital where she had left Sighard. A nurse brought him out to see her. The confused little boy, Natalia said, "was wringing his little hands and saying 'Mama, Mama.' But I couldn't do anything for him. I went away with tears in my eyes, and he was crying." The visit at least showed Natalia that Sighard was safe and that the hospital staff were looking after him.

Natalia visited Sighard several more times during his two-week stay in the hospital. She spent Christmas and New Year's Eve in the hotel but did not partake of the celebrations that were arranged for the immigrants. Finally she was allowed to bring Sighard back to the hotel, and on January 11, 1929, they were taken to the docks and put aboard the Canadian Pacific vessel SS *Montrose*. They were given a small windowless cabin deep in the bowels of the ship. It was so far below deck that one morning there was water sloshing around on the floor. The crew quickly cleaned it up, and it did not happen again.

Pregnant Natalia couldn't have cared less about the water or anything else going on. Shortly after sailing she again got violently seasick, and she stayed ill all the way to Canada. The crew regularly checked on her and tried to get her to eat. They routinely took Sighard to the dining room for feeding. He was okay but had no sense of day or night, because they could not see outside. All Natalia could do to comfort him was to tell him that they would soon see Papa again.

On Sunday, January 20, 1929, Natalia and Sighard arrived in Saint John, New Brunswick, with no train ticket and no money. The authorities said, "What shall we do with you? You have nothing?" A still ill but defiant Natalia replied, "No, I have nothing. They took me off the ship and I have nothing. Do what you want."

She and Sighard were taken to a hotel and given a room. She was able to bathe and to have her first real meal in about ten days. The following Monday morning, a CPR official gave Natalia an envelope with two train tickets in it and took her and Sighard to

MARC CHOKO COLLECTION, LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, E010780451

Left: The Canadian Pacific ship *Montclare* in the St. Lawrence River in 1930. Above: A horse-drawn sleigh in Ridgeville, Manitoba, circa 1920. The Kautz family travelled by train from New Brunswick to this small community in southern Manitoba in 1928 before departing by horse-drawn sleigh to nearby Overstone, their new home in Canada.

the railway station, where they boarded a waiting train.

The motion of the train brought back the combination of seasickness and morning sickness. Other immigrants on the train sympathized when she told them her story. They looked after Sighard and fed him, and they took apart two benches so she could lie down. She was a very sick woman during the four-day train trip to Winnipeg. As Natalia later said, "I didn't care if I lived or not."

In Winnipeg, a Lutheran Church minister met her at the train station and accompanied her to an immigrant hotel, where she spent the weekend. On Monday she boarded a train south and into a typical prairie snowstorm. It took all morning to make the trip to Ridgeville, the nearest train station to Overstone.

The cold and wind hit her immediately as she stepped onto the station platform. Within minutes the steam engine blew its whistle, and with a jerky start, the train slowly pulled away. Natalia looked around and saw nobody. Once again she was on her own, but this time she was shivering with cold and bracing herself against the storm. Sighard was cold, too, and began to cry.

Out of the blowing snow she saw a figure approaching, and as he neared her he asked, "Frau Kautz?"

"Whom do I have the honour to see?" Natalia asked defiantly in German. "I was expecting my husband."

"I am Pastor Heimann of the Overstone Lutheran Church. I will take you to your family. Please come with me."

Pastor Heimann bundled the mother and child into his enclosed horse-drawn sleigh, which was equipped with a small stove for heat. Natalia was very grateful for the warmth, and she began to get excited about seeing her family again. Although Overstone was less than ten kilometres away, it took about two hours to get there. By the time they arrived, the storm had abated. Her first impression of the house and farmyard toward which they were heading was that it looked like an island surrounded by snow. They never had this much snow in Volhynia, she thought. How could people live in such a place?

By now the family was settled in an abandoned log cabin that the man who sponsored them had on his property. The kids rushed to Natalia as she entered, and they all wept openly. Natalia was shocked when she looked closely at the house. It was very old and small compared to what she was used to in Volhynia. The tiny kitchen had a small cookstove and a rickety table with a few chairs. The living room had an old, torn sofa, a few more chairs, and some bedding on the floor. Two small bedrooms were in the back off the living room. She thought to herself, why did we ever leave the comfort of our home in Volhynia?

It turned out that Natalia and her family had escaped the Soviet Union just in time. Shortly after they left Volhynia, the farms in the region were taken over by the communists and turned into state-run collectives. Those who objected were sent to forced-labour camps. Collectivization was widely opposed and poorly administered, leading to drops in food production. Eventually Joseph Stalin ordered that all food in the Ukraine region be confiscated and sent to other areas in the Soviet Union. Widespread famine resulted. In 1932 and 1933 approximately seven million people starved to death in Ukraine in what became known as the Holodomor.

The Kautz family had avoided this fate. A few months after their arrival they moved out of the log cabin and into a better house on a rented farm that they worked successfully in spite of the Great Depression. The five kids from Volhynia, plus two more born in Canada, grew up and prospered. Here's what became of them:

Baby Sighard — later called Harry — joined the Winnipeg police force. Vera, with whom Natalia was pregnant during the migration, taught school in rural Manitoba. Gerhard, the oldest son, worked in the MacDonald aircraft plant in Winnipeg building bombers for the Second World War, and later ran a store in Ridgeville. Mary, the oldest daughter, got tuberculosis in 1935 when she was fifteen years old and spent six years in a sanatorium. After her recovery, she worked in an office in Winnipeg. Arvid volunteered for the Canadian Army and served overseas in the Service Corps, after which he joined the National Harbours Board and worked in Vancouver's harbour until he retired. Wilma was active in the Lutheran Church, married, and moved to Michigan. Victor, the last child, had a career with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

It all worked out very well for the Kautz family, thanks in many ways to the Lutheran Church and the CPR immigration machine.

TOP LEFT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA A056381-V8. TOP RIGHT: MANITOBA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

An impish self-portrait by Duncan Macpherson was drawn for the cover of *Canadian Weekly* magazine in 1965.

MACPHERSON FAMILY

DRAWING THE LINE

Remembering one of Canada's most talented – and tempestuous – political cartoonists.

by Terry "Aislin" Mosher

IT'S NO SECRET TO ANYONE WHO KNEW HIM that, while Duncan Macpherson could be intensely charming, he would try the patience of a saint. A supremely talented political cartoonist, he could be obnoxious in the extreme and was opinionated, self-centred, stubborn as a mule, and a show-off. He drank and smoked too much — habits he had picked up while serving in the Royal Canadian Air Force during the Second World War. He resented authority and, after a few drinks, was quite prepared to engage in a brawl on the mildest of provocations or to hare off on some crazy escapade.

Given the sort of man Macpherson was, why did I feel compelled to spend countless hours researching and writing his biography? Principally, it was because people were starting to forget about him, and I just couldn't let that happen. He was too talented and too clever — and, frankly, just too interesting — for me to simply let his body of work slide into obscurity. In my opinion, he drew as well as any other artist who comes to mind. His drawings and cartoons were part of the fabric of Canada's daily cultural and political life, and as our country's greatest ever — and most groundbreaking — political cartoonist, he inspired a generation of Canadian caricaturists. Duncan was also a friend and, in spite of his demons, a man of enormous, innate generosity. For all these reasons, I was delighted to have the opportunity to celebrate his life and his work and perhaps, in the process, to create a new generation of Macpherson fans.

Since the time of Confederation Canadians have been able to laugh at the nation's foibles, thanks to the talents of generations of noteworthy cartoonists. Even though we are witnessing the apparent demise of the traditional newspaper, Canadian political cartooning remains strong. From Halifax to Vancouver, Canada can still boast of having several dozen world-class cartoonists, all of whom owe a debt to Duncan Macpherson.

Born in Toronto in 1924, Macpherson spent his earliest years travelling back and forth between Canada and Scotland with his Scottish-born parents. In 1930, the Macphersons settled for good in downtown Toronto, just as the Great Depression was taking hold. Even so, Macpherson spent a very happy youth. As he noted in his private journals, none of his friends' families had any money, either, so no one felt hard done by. Early on, Macpherson displayed a talent for drawing; he would sketch anywhere, at any time, creating funny little cartoons that amused his friends and neighbours. At school, Macpherson was a multi-talented athlete, playing baseball and football — and he once cleared 1.8 metres in a high jump competition.

However, the structure of school life suited neither Macpherson's taste nor his temperament, and he had no compunction about making that plain. His last high-school principal, a man of realistic expectations, granted the young reprobate an early graduation certificate on the understanding that he never return to the school. Thus Macpherson was able to enlist in the Royal Canadian Air Force in 1941 at the tender age of seventeen.

His first physical examination upon joining up unearthed a hearing impairment. Macpherson was therefore denied his dream role as a romantic fly boy and, much to his chagrin, was consigned to grunt work in England, loading bombs onto Lancasters. Macpherson channelled his discontentment into being a mischief maker, a choice that landed him in the brig from time to time, although he did manage to take in some important art classes in London.

Returning to Toronto after the war, "Mac" took advantage of government sponsorship programs for war veterans, electing to study art at the Boston Museum School, where he took advanced classes in classical drawing and painting.

Macpherson's artistic talent was quickly recognized by a number of art directors. They commissioned him to provide illustrations at several of Canada's top magazines, such as the *Montreal Standard* (later *Weekend* magazine) and *Maclean's*. Duncan very rapidly moved into the top rank of illustrators. One of the editors at *Maclean's*

Duncan Macpherson works on an illustration in London in 1943. The budding cartoonist had joined the Royal Canadian Air Force two years earlier.

at the time was Pierre Berton — himself a frustrated cartoonist. When Berton moved over to the *Toronto Star* in the late 1950s, he coaxed Macpherson into trying his hand at political cartooning and was instrumental in getting the cartoonist a contract at the *Star* late in 1958.

Macpherson's impact at the newspaper was almost instantaneous. The third cartoon he drew for the paper became the most famous of his career: Prime Minister John Diefenbaker as French Queen Marie Antoinette saying arrogantly, "Let them eat cake!"

The prime minister had recently announced the government's controversial decision to cancel development and production of the Avro Arrow, a Canadian military aircraft, and the jobs of more than a thousand highly skilled Canadian workers were on the line. Diefenbaker's cavalier attitude toward those workers prompted Macpherson to create the cartoon.

Pierre Berton had been absolutely right about Macpherson's talent and his potential as a political cartoonist. Thanks to that Diefenbaker caricature, Macpherson established himself almost overnight as the pre-eminent (and highest-paid) cartoonist in Canada.

Macpherson was quite fascinated by the then prime minister. He once said, "Diefenbaker has always given me the feeling of a Billy Sunday [an American evangelist], a circus barker, and a third-rate actor, all put together. I had more fun with Diefenbaker than anybody — absolutely no restraints at all. I had him going as a wild man in my imagination, and that's the way he turned out."

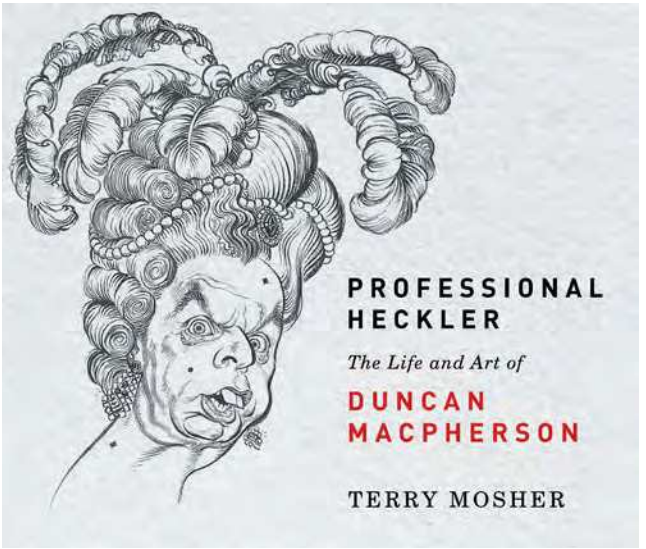
Macpherson was somewhat kinder to Canada's next prime minister, Lester Pearson. The two had met and genuinely liked each other. Furthermore, unlike Diefenbaker, Pearson had a fondness for self-deprecating humour. His office walls were hung with Macpherson cartoons in which he figured prominently, usually as a befuddled chap confounded by evolving situations.

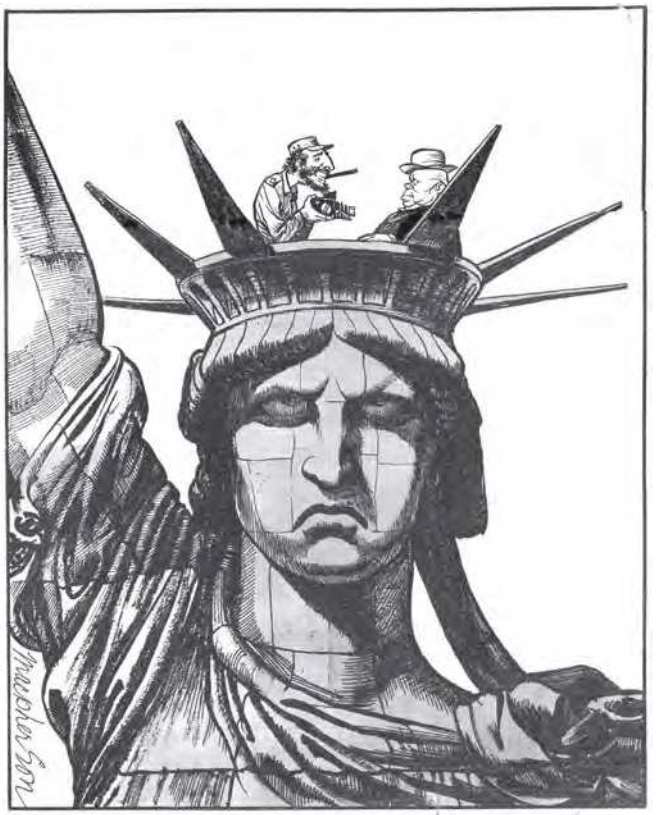
During Macpherson's thirty-five years at the *Star*, there was never a shortage of eminently cartoonable public figures to lampoon. However, when Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau was the subject, Macpherson's cartoons had a very different tone. Caricatures of Trudeau as Napoleon, Nero, Oliver Cromwell — and even as the first "Emperor of Canada" — seemed to lack the exasperation or the grudging admiration that had animated his caricatures of Diefenbaker. "The Chief" as Marie Antoinette was hilarious; Trudeau as the Emperor of Canada was funny but also ominous. Macpherson had plenty of time to fine tune his caricature of Trudeau during the latter's two terms as prime minister (1968–79 and 1980–84), periods that were marked by waves of dramatic social and political change in the country.

Over his career, Macpherson received an unprecedented six National Newspaper Awards, as well as numerous other honours, including several museum exhibitions of his work. In a 1964 *New Yorker* article on Canada, critic Edmund Wilson noted, "a first-rate talent can be found in Toronto that ranks with David Levine and Gerald Scarfe," two of the most popular caricaturists in the world at that time. In 1987, Macpherson was named a Member of the Order of Canada.

A 1957 illustration for *Maclean's* depicts Ebenezer Scrooge from *A Christmas Carol* gleefully dancing among shoppers on Toronto's Yonge Street.

TOP AND BOTTOM: MACPHERSON FAMILY





Above: Terry "Aislin" Mosher's book *Professional Heckler: The Life and Art of Duncan Macpherson* was published in 2020 by McGill-Queen's University Press. Right: In this 1961 cartoon, Cuban leader Fidel Castro and Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchev meet atop the Statue of Liberty while in New York to attend a session of the United Nations. The drawing won Macpherson his second National Newspaper Award. Below: In this 1977 cartoon about the Liberal government's throne speech, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau shoots spitballs at a raging mob that carries him towards a guillotine.

TOP RIGHT AND BOTTOM: MACPHERSON FAMILY

Duncan Macpherson displays illustrations of the justices of the Supreme Court of Canada he created in 1986.

Away from the drawing board, Macpherson was notorious for his shenanigans. In those watering holes favoured by journalists, it was the man's bizarre behaviour, as much as his cartooning, that made him a legend in his own time. As soon as I let it be known that I was writing a book about him, a number of journalists and cartoonists contacted me with their own tales about Duncan. I had a hard time figuring out what was fact and what was fiction.

According to Duncan's friend Jack Brehl, everyone had a Macpherson story: It might be scary or weird, but it always had a funny side. Said Brehl, "Some of the stories are even true. Duncan is enraging, hilarious, maddening, unpredictable, explosive, sudden, unusually charming, and always vital."

After a hard day's work, Macpherson would head out the front door of the old *Toronto Star* building at 80 King Street West, fully intending to turn towards the subway and home. However, all too often, Macpherson turned right, towards the Toronto Press Club, known fondly as the Yellow Submarine. It was then located just a block west of the *Star*, in the low-ceilinged basement of the notorious Prince George Hotel. Stories about Macpherson's unruly behaviour seem to share a common prologue: a stop at the Club for a few drinks. Amid the stories both true and exaggerated, the fact is that, over the years, Macpherson was given four lifetime suspensions from the Toronto Press Club. He was also awarded an honourary lifetime membership.

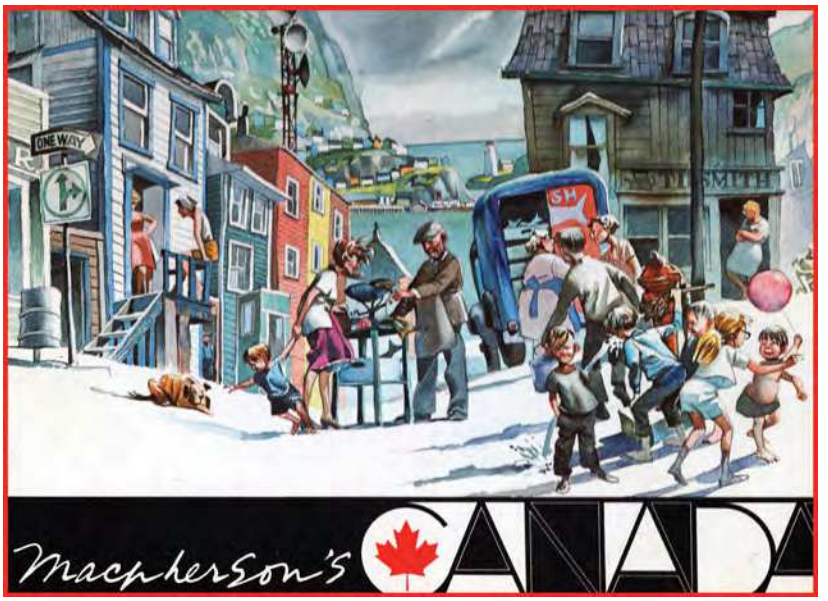
Macpherson travelled extensively for the *Star*, jumping at assignments that took him to the United States, Cuba, the Caribbean, Germany, northern Africa, the Soviet Union, China, and elsewhere.

During these trips, Macpherson could return to his roots as an illustrator, except that now he was illustrating his own thoughts and words. He loved travelling, perhaps in part because it beat being confined to a studio and having to grind out a cartoon every day. It also allowed him to use colour occasionally, as opposed to the daily black-and-white cartoon.

In 1969, the *Toronto Star* published a striking book titled *Macpherson's Canada*. It was a boxed, hardcover collection of the watercolours, pastels, drawings, and notes he had made over four consecutive summers travelling the country, through all ten provinces as well as Yukon Territory and the Northwest Territories.

These drawings are very different from his political car-

TORONTO STAR



toons and are reminiscent of his early magazine work. Generally he liked to sketch people's everyday activities, but he was also fascinated by the landscapes he explored. Of the two hundred drawings and paintings in the book, fully one quarter depict boats, ships, and life on the water.

Despite being based in Toronto, Macpherson eventually drew many more cartoons on the subject of Quebec politics than on the action at Queen's Park. Macpherson loved Quebec — Montreal in particular — and visited often. "There is a lot to see in Quebec, and one can see her faster than one can understand her," Macpherson wrote in *Macpherson's Canada*.

Over the last dozen years of his life, Macpherson drew the occasional brilliant cartoon capturing the ethos of the Brian Mulroney and Bob Rae eras, but, as he admitted, his heart wasn't in it. He had escaped Toronto to live in Beaverton, Ontario, and had planned to devote all his energy to developing his reputation as a painter. It wasn't to be.

In the early spring of 1993, Duncan Macpherson was diagnosed with terminal pancreatic cancer; he spent the last few weeks of his life at home with his wife, Dorothy, in the small community on the eastern shore of Lake Simcoe.

Dorothy stayed on in Beaverton after her husband's death. She volunteered a lot of her time to community initiatives and was nominated for a good-citizen award. She lived to be ninety-three and passed away quietly in September 2020.

Macpherson's funeral was held at the historic Old Stone Church in Beaverton, five days after his death. Duncan's friend, the *Star*'s Tom Harpur — who was an ordained Anglican priest — gave the eulogy. Macpherson was cremated, and his ashes were scattered off the point of his beloved Thorah Island near Beaverton.

A wake attended by Macpherson's friends and associates was held at the Toronto Press Club on May 14, 1993. According to reports, there were no fights.

Above left: *Macpherson's Canada*, published in 1969 by the *Toronto Star*, is a compendium of sketches and paintings made by Macpherson during four consecutive summers travelling throughout Canada.

Above right: During a trip to Cuba, Macpherson sketched a baseball game that was preceded by political speeches and featured armed communist security guards who kept a careful watch on the assembled fans.

Below: In a never-before-published cartoon, Terry "Aislin" Mosher has sketched himself being carried out of the Toronto Press Club by Macpherson after a donnybrook in 1976. Both cartoonists were barred for life from the watering hole but eventually were allowed back in.

TOP LEFT: TORONTO STAR. TOP RIGHT: MACPHERSON FAMILY. BOTTOM: COURTESY OF TERRY MOSHER

The Old Courthouse Inn, which features a mock-Tudor facade, is the former police station and jail in Powell River, B.C.

Charming company town

Powell River, B.C., boasts a well-preserved townsite with early twentieth-century homes, a still-operating cinema, and a ballroom. *by Brendan Sainsbury*

On first impression, the city of Powell River on British Columbia's Sunshine Coast seems more industrial than historic. Split into two parts separated by a patch of temperate rainforest, the city's older more northerly section is dominated by a red-and-white-striped smokestack discharging plumes of wispy vapour and a floating breakwater comprised of ten mildewed concrete ships.

The smokestack belongs to the Powell River paper mill, once the largest producer of newsprint in the world. The ships are leftover storage craft from the Second World War; aside from protecting the harbour, they provide a winter refuge for herds of sea lions.

Powell River's tight grid of residential buildings is handsome, well-preserved, and remarkably homogeneous. This is the Powell River Historic Townsite District, which in 1995 was designated a National Historic Site as an exceptional example of a planned company town dating from the early years of the twentieth century.

It is estimated that ninety-seven per cent of the area's surviving buildings are more than ninety years old. A resident from the 1920s could quite happily drive through here in a Model T Ford and, aside from the odd cellphone-brandishing teenager, barely know that it's now the twenty-first century.

Like many visitors, I first came to Powell River to experience the outdoors rather than the history. Clinging to the Sunshine Coast 170 kilometres and two ferry rides north of Vancouver, the town is a locus for sea kayaking, mountain biking, and hiking on Canada's longest hut-to-hut trail.

This tract of British Columbia's coast has been inhabited by the Tla'amin Nation since time immemorial. Their village of Tees Kwat once sat at the mouth of the Powell River, before the waterway was controversially dammed in 1910 to serve the paper mill. The Tla'amin were forced to move north to the village of Sliammon. The Powell River Historical Museum provides more background to the Tla'amin story as well as exhibits about the town's more recent industrial past.

With my sights set on speed-hiking a fifty-kilometre section of the Sunshine Coast Trail, I bypassed the museum on my initial drive through the city and headed directly into the backcountry. My introduction to the historic townsite came a day later while recuperating in the Old Courthouse Inn, the town's former police station and jail. These days the former courthouse is a comfortable hotel preserved at its 1930s high-water mark with an attractive mock-Tudor facade and an interior stuffed with patterned carpets and antique furniture.

Peeping out my window through the thick drapes brought me face to face with the giant paper mill, an iron skeleton of chutes, chimneys, and industrial

DARREN ROBINSON FOR SUNSHINE COAST TOURISM

Top left: The paper mill and historic townsite of Powell River, B.C., sit between the harbour and nearby mountains. Top right: Kayakers paddle near one of the decommissioned military ships that form a breakwater in the harbour. Above: The interior of the Patricia Theatre, which was built in 1913.

architecture. Completed in 1912, the factory once provided work for more than 2,500 people.

A purpose-built town quickly grew around it, and, within a few years, the surrounding streets were embellished with churches, a cinema, a dance hall, a hotel, a post office, a bank, and scores of detached wooden houses with small gardens, most of them designed in the Arts and Crafts style that was in vogue at the time.

Powell River was developed on the principles of the garden city movement, pioneered in the United Kingdom in the early 1900s, with planned urban amenities juxtaposed with a leafy greenbelt. When the town started to grow beyond the confines of the mill after the Second World War, authorities refrained from adding strip malls and suburban sprawl and instead built a newer version of Powell River several kilometres to the south — a neighbourhood known today as Westview.

The original town has stayed much as it was in the 1920s, with a few minor updates. Besides the courthouse now being a hotel, two churches have been deconsecrated and made into apartments, and the former post office has been converted into a microbrewery.

Shirking modernization, the original theatre, the Patricia, is still in operation and professes to be the oldest continuously running cinema in British Columbia. The paper mill also remains, although its workforce now numbers in the hundreds.

IF YOU GO

GETTING THERE: Powell River is a four-and-a-quarter-hour drive from Vancouver, including ferry crossings at Horseshoe Bay and Earl's Cove. A private bus, the Sunshine Coast Connector, runs up the coast from May to September.

WHERE TO STAY: The Rodmay Heritage Hotel and the Old Courthouse Inn are located in the city's historic townsite. Breakfast is served six days a week at the latter's Edie Rae's Café, which is closed on Mondays.

EXPLORE: The Townsite Heritage Society offers summer walking tours for ten dollars per person. The Powell River Historical Museum showcases artifacts of the Tla'amin Nation as well as exhibits about homesteading, logging, the pulp and paper mill, and the region's marine life.

DRINK: Townsite Brewing is an excellent craft brewery located in the historic townsite and includes a tasting room. Try the Tin Hat IPA.

To appreciate Powell River's unique layout and design, I decided to take a stroll around the old townsite, fuelling up first at Edie Rae's Café in the Old Courthouse Inn before hitting the small commercial district abutting the mill where signboards explain the history of the key buildings. Intrigued, I

TOP LEFT: SUNSHINE COAST TOURISM. TOP RIGHT: PAUL KAMON FOR SUNSHINE COAST TOURISM. LOWER LEFT: DARREN ROBINSON FOR SUNSHINE COAST TOURISM

absorbed the back stories of Dr. Henderson's house, the town's original hospital; Dwight Hall, a dance venue where the 1920s truly roared; and the Rodmay Hotel, the oldest commercial building, constructed in 1911.

A short climb up a hill brought me to the residential district, where attractive houses with chimneys and porches dominate Management Row on Marine Avenue, the erstwhile domain of the factory's top brass.

From a lookout on the avenue, I veered back down the hillside to the Willingdon Beach Trail, a forested walkway along a former logging railway that catalogues Powell River's lumber history. Heavy machines, including a steam donkey (steam-powered winch), punctuate the path, their rusty hulks looking unexpectedly at home in the dense woodland.

Guided back to the townsite by the sound of barking sea lions, I emerged next to the timber-framed Dwight Hall. It was Sunday morning, and the streets were eerily empty. Closing my eyes for a second, I tried to imagine the rumble of mill workers' boots and the sound of a piano emanating from the old dance hall nearly a century ago.

AT THE MUSEUMS

It is bright, it is lit

The Winnipeg Art Gallery has opened its Inuit art centre – named Qaumajuq – and launched the inaugural exhibition. The centre is housed in a new 3,700-square-metre building that connects to the existing gallery building on four levels. Its centrepiece is the three-storey Visible Vault that displays thousands of Inuit stone carvings.

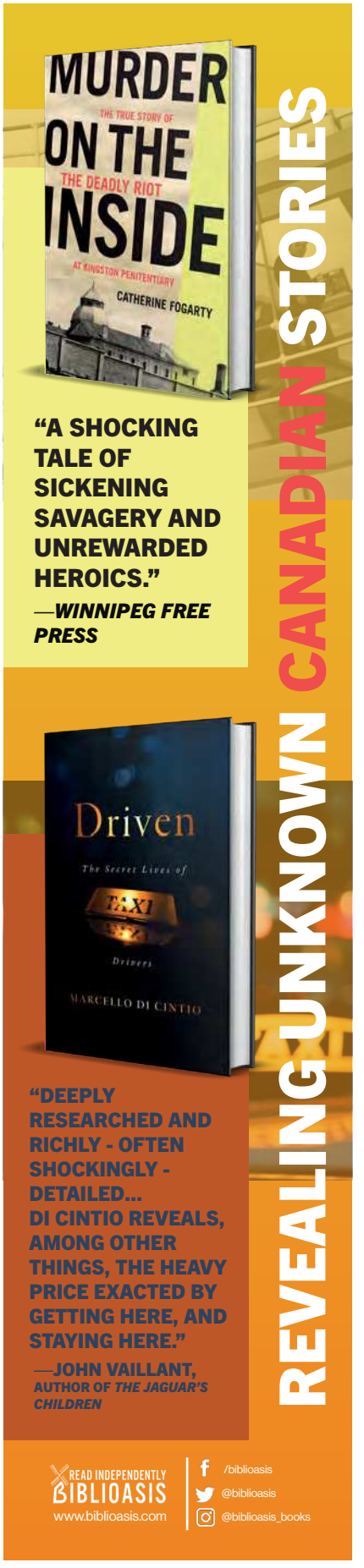
The WAG is home to the world's largest public collection of Inuit art, and Qaumajuq is intended to prioritize Inuit voices, art, and culture. Meaning "it is bright, it is lit" in Inuktitut (Nunavik), the centre's name was selected by a group of Indigenous Language Keepers and Elders who gathered virtually in 2020.

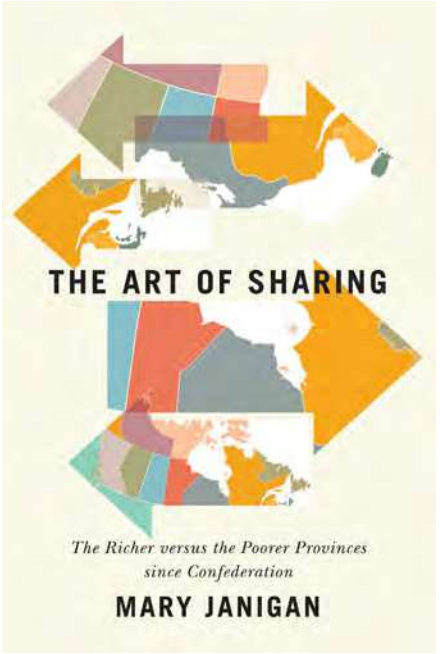
Maxine Anguk, digital platform project manager for the Visible Vault, said hearing the Indigenous names for the gallery spaces "makes my heart so happy!" Anguk, who was raised in Whale Cove, Nunavut, is working with Inuit filmmakers, photographers, and other community members while seeking to demonstrate "how important language is in creating meaningful relationships."

Designed by Michael Maltzan Architecture, the new building respects the gallery's modernist main building while fulfilling the objective of improving public access to the Inuit art collection. Qaumajuq's facade is made of Bethel white granite and resembles forms Maltzan encountered on a trip to Nunavut. The Visible Vault and other interior spaces can be seen from Nutaaq Tummaqtuyuq, the outdoor plaza (seen above) whose name means "big steps forward" in Inuvialuktun.

The centre's inaugural exhibition, *INUA* – which means life force in several Arctic dialects – was curated by a team representing the four regions of Inuit Nunangat, the homeland of Inuit in Canada. Displayed in Qaumajuq's skylight-lit main gallery, Qilak – meaning sky in Inuktitut – *INUA* presents work by dozens of Inuit artists from the North and others living in urban centres, as well as art by Indigenous colleagues and collaborators from other circumpolar regions.

PHOTO BY LINDSAY REID COURTESY WINNIPEG ART GALLERY





A CANADIAN MIRACLE

The Art of Sharing: The Richer versus the Poorer Provinces since Confederation

by Mary Janigan
McGill-Queen's University Press,
432 pages, $39.95

Sharing family wealth can be tense and infuriating, as some may know from administering a will. Sharing a nation's wealth is even more difficult, especially if riches or poverty are regionally concentrated and revenues shift with changing demand for local products. Financial equalization is Canada's main solution to spreading wealth between have and have-not provinces. It is also the topic of Mary Janigan's superb new book.

Put more precisely, financial equalization is the sensitive arrangement that enables all provinces to provide reasonably similar levels of public services for reasonably similar levels of taxation. It is, Janigan says pointedly, "the improbable glue that holds the nation together." This equalization involves transfers of cash, with the federal government serving as banker and referee. The allocations are intended to balance what each province can expect to collect from its own revenue sources — hence the title and theme of this book: *The Art of Sharing*.

Transfers to provinces, currently worth about $20 billion, require economic calculations that are immensely complex and, some would say, deliberately obscure. Redistributing wealth is always touchy, all the more so when so much is at stake.

Janigan is a journalist who has recently completed a Ph.D. in history at York University. This compact volume, based on her thesis, is rarely academic in style, though it includes many footnotes. Janigan sets out to answer one question: How did Canada's policy of equalization come into being? She proceeds to explain its significance, drawing on historical records and first-hand accounts of living conditions and social problems. She relates policies to real people, writing with the ease of a professional reporter.

This is a voyage across time, starting with Confederation and its tough financial negotiations. Every founding province received payments from the new Dominion government in return for giving up former colonial revenues, notably from trade tariffs. But, early on, the Maritime provinces complained vociferously that their payments were too small.

The Maritimes received many supplementary Ottawa grants, with decisions made in an ad hoc manner. These were key to Confederation's early stability. In later years, when the prairies suffered from poor harvests and falling grain prices, extra federal money was also essential. Arguably, the sums were never sufficient.

During the Second World War, when military expenses ballooned, it was the central government that needed additional revenues, leading to a complex system of "tax leasing." This mind-numbing arrangement, negotiated province by province, involved the transfer of all tax revenues to the Dominion government while operating grants were allocated back to the provinces.

Tax leasing was never a recipe for harmony. A different policy was needed, and this was emphasized in the seminal 1940 report of the Rowell-Sirois Royal Commission. But government negotiations hit an impasse in the postwar period and were complicated by conflicting provincial demands, Ottawa's ideas on centralization, and Quebec's passionate defense of its jurisdiction. A solution finally emerged in the mid-1950s, under Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent. That new approach is described by Janigan as "the miracle of equalization."

Why were these transfers so important to the lives of Canadians? Sufficient funding for both the provinces and Ottawa was the essential foundation for a modern welfare system that incorporated features such as income support for seniors and public health insurance. "The federal government had finally found a non-intrusive way to remedy … inequality among the provinces," Janigan concludes.

Another dimension of her study is its examination of Australia's funding disputes. Janigan draws parallels to Canada and describes how Australia dealt with its own federal grants challenge, responding to a regional separatist threat. Decision makers in both countries were aware of their similar predicaments, though it is not clear how much they actually learned from each other.

St. Laurent emerges as the hero in Janigan's eyes. She credits him with being an effective negotiator, a centralist visionary who realistically compromised on provincial rights while managing the puzzle of Canada's regional identities.

Janigan's account alludes to con-

temporary pressures, and she even shifts at times to current phrases ("First Ministers" or "Rest of Canada") that don't fit easily in a historical study. But her crystal-clear account prepares us for possible turbulence ahead. As regional wealth and provincial revenues shift again, Canada's equalization system will be an essential tool for divvying up the pie and for evening out winners and losers.

Reviewed by **Victor Rabinovitch**, who as a senior civil servant was responsible for operating the Canada Pension Plan and old age security before becoming president of the Canadian Museum of Civilization and the Canadian War Museum.

SUPPORTING ROLES

Beaver Bison Horse: The Traditional Knowledge and Ecology of the Northern Great Plains

by R. Grace Morgan
University of Regina Press,
352 pages, $34.95

One of the central arguments of R. Grace Morgan's innovative new book is that, prior to trade with Europeans, Indigenous peoples of the prairie region did not hunt the beaver. They well understood the importance of this species to water management, specifically the role of beaver dams in creating water reservoirs that enabled both bison and Indigenous people to live on large tracts of North America that otherwise could not sustain their populations.

Previously studied in large-scale monographs by F.G. Roe and others, the bison and the horse are also part of Morgan's history, entitled *Beaver Bison Horse: The Traditional Knowledge and Ecology of the Northern Great Plains*. But it is the beaver that receives star treatment for its little-known role in sustaining ecosystems that supported Indigenous people over many centuries.

Morgan's book was an outgrowth of her earlier investigations into the ecological history of the Qu'Appelle River basin, which stretches across southeastern Saskatchewan from its source at Lake Diefenbaker to its confluence with the Assiniboine River in western Manitoba. For *Beaver Bison Horse*, the author expanded the scope of her research to infer that her thesis applied to the much larger great plains region; but she acknowledged that this inference awaits further empirical studies.

To address this history, Morgan applied three different forms of evidence — ecological, archaeological, and historical. The chapter on ecological evidence represents an outstanding analysis in its own right. This densely argued treatment displays Morgan's in-depth knowledge of the ecology and natural processes of southern Saskatchewan and other prairie regions with similar characteristics.

She carefully studied grassland plant species to reveal the ways that bison most likely moved across the plains in search of diverse grasses as they cured in different seasons, reconstructing their movements from the growth cycles of the vegetation. The indispensable factor that enabled bison migrations was recurrent access to water — which was stored by beaver dams in reservoirs that ensured its supply, even in dry years and climatic eras.

The archaeological section also contains valuable insights. For example, Morgan applies archaeological analyses to Indigenous stone rings and their spatial distribution, and she combines them with other evidence to reconstruct the movements and seasonal patterns of Indigenous people as they sought bison across the region prior to contact. While the analysis sometimes relies on logic and inference rather than data, it represents a carefully reasoned attempt to compensate for the lack of hard evidence. Morgan's imaginative approach enables a creditable historical reconstruction of pre-contact history by applying available archaeological tools to its study.

Morgan's chapter on historical evidence represents a less successful effort to use secondary sources to test her theory regarding First Nations prohibitions on beaver hunting. The research in primary textual sources is slight, and the treatment of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is incomplete. Largely omitted is the role of another important Indigenous people — the Métis. Morgan references the Métis only in two brief discussions. Yet the Métis were engaged in hunting, processing, and trading bison products over much of the prairie and northern great plains regions, especially following the amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company in 1821.

Recent historical work by Brenda Macdougall and Nicole St-Onge has described the Métis practice of forming huge hunting brigades and establishing *hivernants* as bases of hunting operations across the west. Operating in different seasons, they staged especially large-scale hunts in the summer, overturning long-standing First Nations patterns of hunting in the fall and winter. The vast scale and spatial distribution of Métis hunting likely disrupted both bison movements and more localized First Nations hunting patterns; but the specific impacts are not treated here and await further investigation.

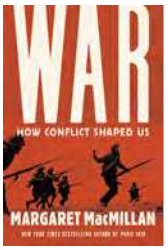
Beaver Bison Horse significantly expands our understanding of the interface between human and ecological histories of the prairie region. Given the subtitle's reference to traditional knowledge, the lack of oral history research with First Nations Elders is disappointing. Nevertheless, Morgan's book offers promising methodologies and ways of thinking about the history of Indigenous peoples as well as the animals that have played such influential roles in their histories.

Reviewed by **Lyle Dick**, the senior advisor of Know History and a former president of the Canadian Historical Association. Among many other works on human-animal historical interrelationships, he is co-author of *People, Caribou and Muskoxen on Northern Ellesmere Island* (Parks Canada, 2005).

SWEEPING SYNTHESIS

War: How Conflict Shaped Us

by Margaret MacMillan
Allen Lane, 336 pages, $35



Margaret MacMillan is one of the best-known military historians in the English-speaking world. It only makes sense that her extensive experience with writing and teaching on the subject of war would manifest itself in her latest book, *War: How Conflict Shaped Us*. Stemming from talks MacMillan gave for the BBC as part of its Reith Lectures series, the book is an attempt to show how war provides a window into the human condition and to demonstrate how important it is that we continue to study the subject.

In this book, MacMillan responds to a very real push-back from members of the academic community and the wider public who feel that conflict studies and military history are no longer relevant to the modern world or who believe, even more dramatically (and erroneously), that they somehow contribute to the eruption of modern-day conflicts.

The book is organized thematically and begins by looking at how war has been a force for change since the earliest human societies. Its first chapter, however, highlights the pitfalls of MacMillan's thematic approach, as the discussion bounces chaotically between centuries and regions. For instance, in one paragraph discussing how war has impacted the raising of revenue, the author brings in brief examples from ancient Greece in the fifth century BCE, the Spanish conquests in the Americas during the sixteenth century, and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71.

The second chapter continues this type of presentation by looking at the various reasons for going to war, again not in a chronological manner but by cherry picking specific yet brief examples to support a wide range of discussion points. This poses problems, as context is not regularly provided for the comparisons being made between places and time periods.

By chapter three, however, the book settles into a more readable rhythm as MacMillan enters into discussions that focus on the modern industrial Western world — which she admits to be the book's main emphasis. In this and the following chapter she looks at the changing technology of warfare and the emergence of what we now identify as modern war during the revolutionary nineteenth century.

Other themes explored in *War* are how soldiers are created, the changing nature of combat, and, in the book's strongest chapter, the changing relationship between civilians and war. MacMillan analyzes the ways societies have sought to regulate war and concludes with an exploration of how nations and peoples have mourned their dead and remembered past conflicts.

It's clear that this book is intended to be a synthesis of many other works on war and society that have been written over the past two decades. What makes *War* unique is that it presents this synthesis from a thematic approach, as opposed to the standard chronological approach. Most of the time this works very well, especially in the book's later chapters; but at other times it comes across as rather disorderly, primarily in the first two chapters.

It is difficult to place this book in terms of readership. For first-time readers on the subject, the book may be challenging. It presents so many different anecdotes and pieces of evidence from different time periods, without offering any real context, that a reader might be overwhelmed. The book might be valuable for upper-level students of war and society who are seeking to engage in discussion, or for general-interest readers with solid backgrounds in the subject.

While not one of MacMillan's best books, *War* is nonetheless worth reading, because its thematic framework provides a thoughtful repackaging of current discussions within the broad spectrum of approaches to the study of war and society. MacMillan ultimately makes her main point: that failing to study war limits our understanding of the development of human society and ignores potential trends for the future — and, thus, that we fail to study war at our own peril.

Reviewed by **David A. Borys**, a Canadian military historian at Langara College in Vancouver and the host of the popular Canadian-history podcast *Cool Canadian History*.

VELVET OVER IRON

The Unexpected Louis St-Laurent: Politics and Policies for a Modern Canada

edited by Patrice Dutil
UBC Press, 540 pages, $49.95

Louis St. Laurent, Canada's twelfth prime minister, is largely forgotten today. Even as he guided Canada into the prosperous second half of the twentieth century, as prime minister from 1948 to 1957, he attracted few historians to write his story.

Part of the problem was his failure to leave a diary, or many personal letters — although for decades historians have called for a new study of his victories and defeats, his successes and failures. Finally, the talented political scientist Patrice Dutil, author of many books of political history and public policy, has brought together two dozen experts to study St. Laurent and his legacy in *The Unexpected Louis St-Laurent*.

In twenty-two articles, leading scholars such as J.R. Miller, David MacKenzie, and Stephen Azzi, along with St. Laurent's granddaughter Jean Thérèse Riley and former Quebec Premier Jean Charest, shed new light on the elusive figure who has often been portrayed as a benign grandfather type — or Uncle Louis, as he was known. St. Laurent was these things

at times, but one does not scramble to the top of the slippery political ladder without being willing to crush opponents and colleagues. He did that, and he governed with a firm hand, velvet over iron. He was not the mere chairman of the cabinet, as was often said of him; rather, he guided his ministers, absorbing advice, listening to different opinions, and reaching conclusions as he saw fit.

The book's contributors elucidate many areas of study, including how St. Laurent came to power and kept it until his defeat in 1957 by John Diefenbaker; how his pragmatic realism was tinged with idealism; how he positioned Canada to engage in world affairs; and how he addressed matters of health, social policy, communism, crime, and finance. This is a book about St. Laurent as a leader facing insecurity abroad and prosperity at home. His time was also an age of conformity, sexism, racism, and bigotry, and several authors address these issues — especially through the lens of policy and actions that affected Indigenous people.

St. Laurent left a legacy of infrastructure projects like the St. Lawrence Seaway, the RRSP system, an influx of immigrants, and, his proudest accomplishment, guiding Newfoundland into Canadian Confederation in 1949. Several chapters explore St. Laurent as a Canadian nationalist, repositioning Canada to embrace its own cultural destiny, with more funding for the arts and for the creation of new bodies. He also led Canada forward, embracing a stronger international focus because, as he stated in some of his most famous words, in response to the vexing Suez Canal Crisis of 1956, "the era when the supermen of Europe could govern the whole world is coming pretty close to an end."

The prime minister's agenda was furthered by a strong cabinet and some of the best civil servants in Canadian history, and both groups are explored in most of the book's articles. In particular, his dynamic relationship with Lester B. Pearson is presented in detail. St. Laurent later remarked of his protege, who was prime minister of Canada from 1963 to 1968, "I believe that our partnership during [the 1950s] enabled us to do together much that neither of us could have done separately to serve Canada."

While thorough and wide-ranging in covering multiple subjects and themes, *The Unexpected Louis St-Laurent* is not definitive. I would like to have seen a chapter on St. Laurent's role as a wartime prime minister during the Korean War as well as more about his policies to address the inequality faced by women. Nonetheless, what is clear, both in the parts and in the whole, is that the best leaders, like St. Laurent, make being prime minister look easy. It never is, and Dutil's important book shows us

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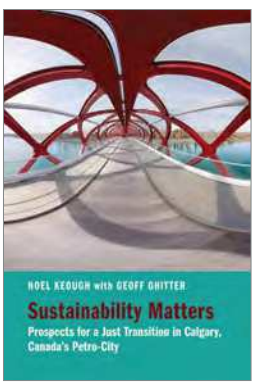

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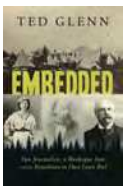
how and why that was the case during the mid-twentieth century.

Reviewed by **Tim Cook**, the author of several books, including *The Secret History of Soldiers* (2018) and *The Fight for History* (2020).

MORE BOOKS

Embedded: Two Journalists, a Burlesque Star, and the Expedition to Oust Louis Riel
by Ted Glenn
Dundurn Press, 287 pages, $24.99



There's a whiff of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern in Ted Glenn's lively story of two Toronto journalists and an actress who travel with Colonel Garnet Wolseley's 1870 military expedition to quash the resistance and establish Canadian authority at Red River, in the newly formed province of Manitoba.

The journalists are Robert Cunningham of the *Toronto Daily Telegraph* and the *Toronto Globe*'s Frederick Edward Molyneux St. John. The latter's wife, stage star Katherine Ranoe, ends up co-writing many of his stories after St. John injures his arm.

Glenn, an Ontario public-policy professor, vividly conveys the gruelling journey and the somewhat anticlimactic arrival at a Fort Garry from which Métis leader Louis Riel had fled. He draws on the trio's accounts and other contemporary sources, such as Wolseley himself and Saulteaux chief Miskoo-ke-new (Henry Prince).

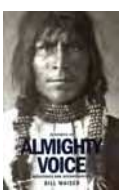
Elzéar Goulet, Bishop Taché, John Schultz, and many other significant figures pop up as the threesome wanders in and out of historical events. Cunningham eventually became a Manitoba Member of Parliament who counted Riel among his friends; St. John's signature appears on the landmark Treaty One; and Ranoe toured the dramatic lecture "The Great North-West" around southern Ontario in 1871.

PHOTO BY JEARLD MOLDENHAUER COURTESY FIGURE 1 PUBLISHING

DEMANDING RIGHTS Nearly fifty years ago, on August 28, 1971, Canadians demonstrated both in Vancouver and on Parliament Hill in Ottawa to insist upon recognition and equal rights for gays and lesbians in this country. This photograph appears alongside hundreds of other images and documents in *Out North: An Archive of Queer Activism and Kinship in Canada*, by Craig Jennex and Nisha Eswaran (Figure 1 Publishing, 292 pages, $45). It shows people at the We Demand rally in Ottawa, which was the first large-scale demonstration for gay rights in Canada.

Black-and-white illustrations and photographs bring the key personalities and various scenarios to life, while a fascinating appendix that profiles some of the artists who travelled with the expedition is worthy of its own book. — *Nancy Payne*

In Search of Almighty Voice: Resistance and Reconciliation
by Bill Waiser
Fifth House, 296 pages, $24.95



In his latest book, Saskatchewan historian Bill Waiser seeks to discern fact from fiction in the story of a Willow Cree man who was killed by the North West Mounted Police in 1897. Along the way he reveals how the federal government's policy of starving Plains Indigenous peoples (see in particular the book *Clearing the Plains*, by James Daschuk) led to desperate actions by people like Almighty Voice.

In 1895, Almighty Voice was twenty years old when he and two others butchered a settler's steer that had wandered onto the One Arrow Reserve, where many people were dying of hunger and disease. Almighty Voice offered to replace the butchered animal with a horse. No matter. The Mounties arrested the three men, anyway.

Almighty Voice escaped custody, leading to a nineteen-month pursuit that resulted in the shooting deaths of three Mounties and one postmaster. About one hundred NWMP officers eventually cornered him on May 30, 1897, at Batoche, where they killed Almighty Voice and his two companions in a heavy bombardment of bullets and shells.

Among his people, Almighty Voice became a legend, the focus of a story of resistance against harsh, unjust government measures. To government officials, however, he was simply a "bad Indian."

In *In Search of Almighty Voice*, Waiser seeks to correct the many inaccurate portrayals of Almighty Voice that can be found in articles, books, plays, and films. As Waiser writes, the "Willow Cree man mattered. Understanding why he mattered has a direct bearing on reconciliation efforts today." — *Nelle Oosterom*

The PS Royal William of Quebec: The First True Transatlantic Steamer
by Eileen Reid Marcil
Baraka Books, 133 pages, $29.95

In the nineteenth century, the way ships were powered underwent a fundamental change from sail to steam. In her latest book, author and maritime historian Eileen Reid Marcil notes that, as confidence grew in the new form of propulsion, "the Quebec Committee of Trade recommended that navigation by a steamboat be established between Quebec and Halifax."

In 1828, the committee proposed that a cash sum be granted over three years to help to make this a reality, and it proceeded to establish the Quebec and Halifax Steam Navigation Company. A paddle steamer named the *Royal William* was designed and built according to company specifications at the Campbell and Black shipyard at the Port of Quebec.

The *Royal William* proved to be a reliable vessel, but it encountered a few problems during its Canadian tenure. A collision with a rock left the steamboat grounded in Montreal before it had completed its first run in 1831. On the ship's next trip that year, it encountered severe fog and a hurricane with gale-force winds. After the following year brought a cholera epidemic, the *Royal William* was deemed unprofitable and sold at auction.

In 1833, the *Royal William*'s new owners decided to resell the ship outside of Canada. It left from Pictou, Nova Scotia, and steamed to Portsmouth, England — a journey that, according to Marcil, made it the first vessel to cross the Atlantic under steam power. While the operators of other vessels made claims to this achievement, Marcil provides evidence to show that the *Royal William* was indeed the first to do so, including in her book's extensive appendix.

The information she presents about steamers and the people involved in their history is fascinating, while the many beautiful watercolours, photographs, and illustrations make her book a visual pleasure. — *Beverley Tallon*

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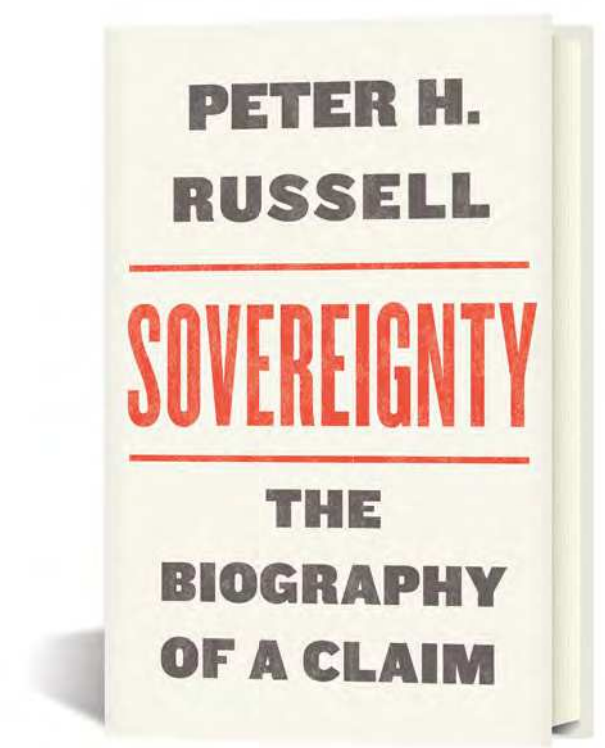

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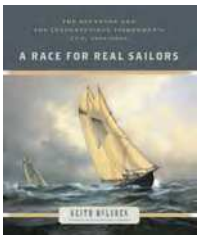

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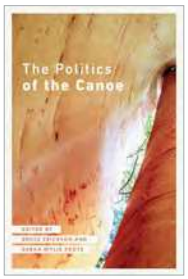

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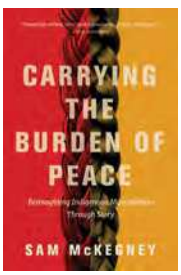

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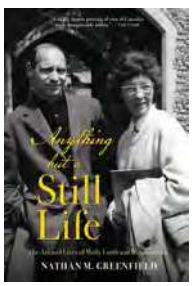

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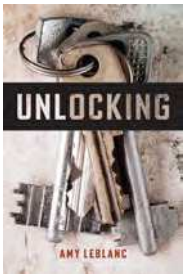

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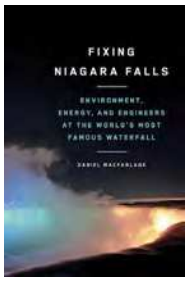

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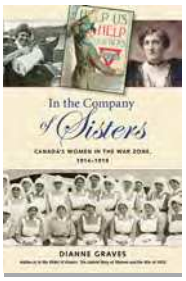

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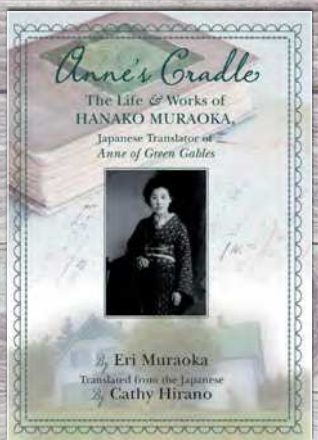

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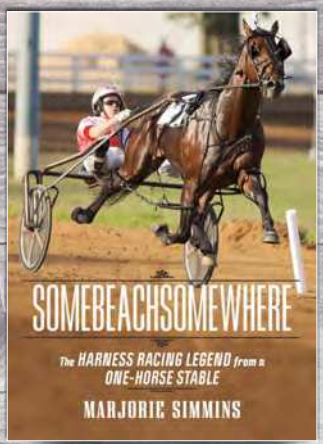

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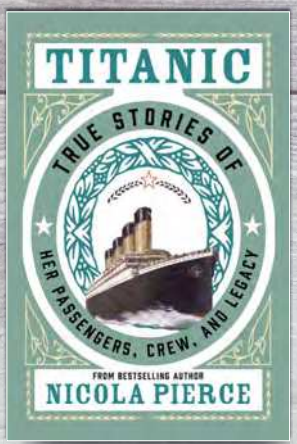

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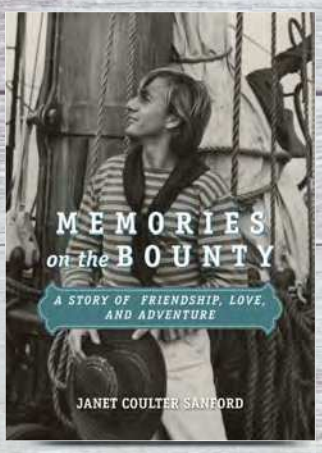

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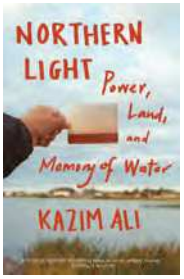

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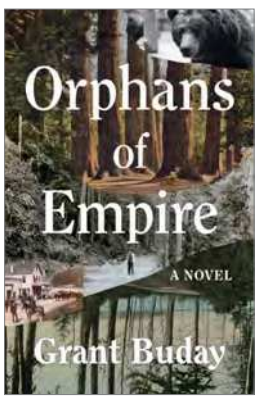

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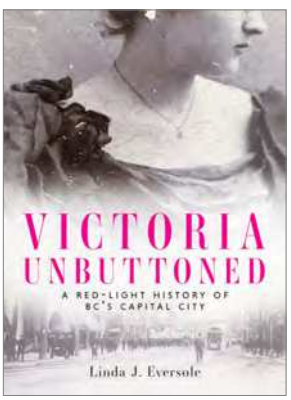

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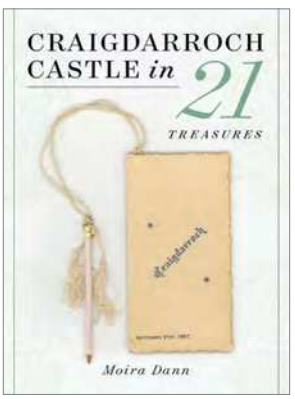

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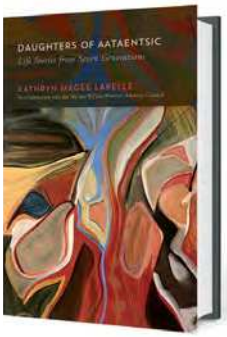

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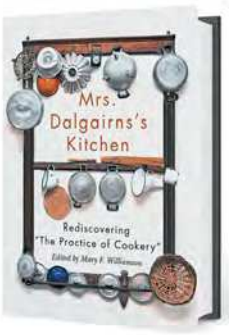

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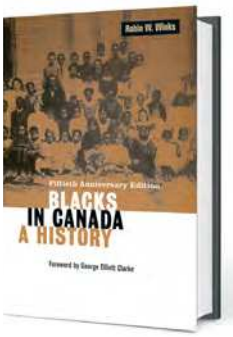

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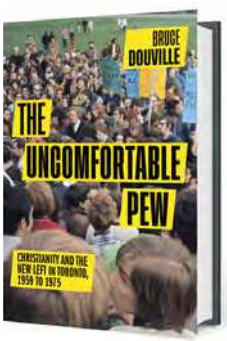

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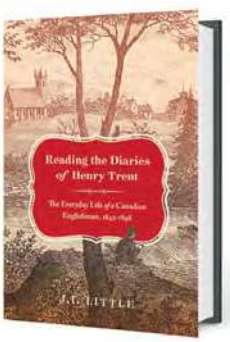

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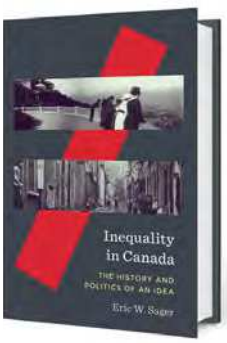

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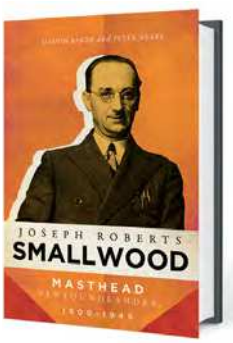

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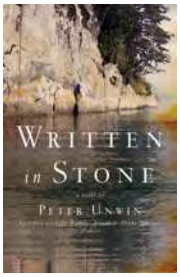

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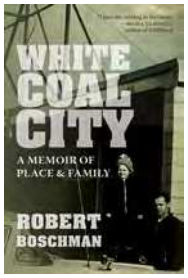

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The Warming Huts are a public art and architecture installation held annually at midwinter on the major rivers of Winnipeg. The huts are selected through an international design competition and via the invitation of selected designers or artists. This book, published to coincide with the tenth anniversary, celebrates and discusses the project as a critical body of work foregrounding the poetics and politics of public space.

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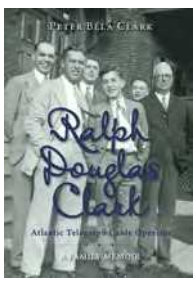

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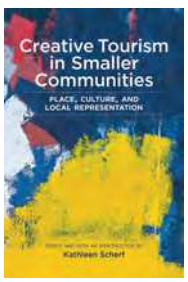

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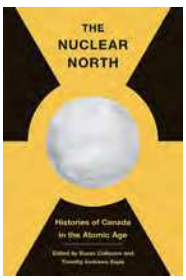

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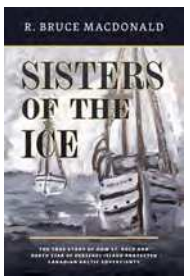

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Above: Business leader and philanthropist James W. Burns.

Left: A skateboarder performs a trick before a large crowd at the Plaza at The Forks skateboard park in Winnipeg in 2016.

Recognizing potential

Skateboard park donor gave the gift of the past to leaders of the future.

by Janet Walker and Arvel Gray

Jim Burns spent his life giving back to his community. As a philanthropist, the Winnipeg business leader was instrumental in founding what's now called the Manitoba Museum — a centennial project heralded in 1967 as one of the best in the country. He also supported vital educational projects like the James W. Burns Leadership Institute and the Barbara Burns Food Innovation Laboratory, named for his late wife.

But Jim's proudest achievement was helping to create a world-class skateboard park in downtown Winnipeg. Some adults considered skateboarders to be nuisances who "carved" and "alley-ooped" on building ledges and parking ramps because there was no place else to go. Jim's commitment to building the Plaza at The Forks — the country's largest and best skating plaza — was an acknowledgement that young people mattered and that they deserved a safe place to practice their sport.

Jim believed young people could achieve great things if given enough encouragement and support.

He also knew that the key to creating a better future for our children is to give them the gift of history. That's why, when Canada's National History Society launched a new "company of *Adventurers*" program in 2015, Jim Burns was the first to answer the call. "Probably half the country knows little or nothing about our history," he said.

Jim joined the "company of *Adventurers*" because he believed that history has the power to transform the present and to shape the future. He believed that sharing our stories with each other brings us closer together as a country — just as sharing the gift of a skateboard park can bring people closer together as a community.

A graduate of the Harvard School of Business, Jim served as president of the Great-West Life Assurance Company and, later, as director emeritus of Power Corporation of Canada. In 1989, he was invested into the Order of Canada. James W. Burns died in Winnipeg in 2019 at the age of eighty-nine, leaving a legacy of projects that shaped his country, his province, and his community.

Jim received many awards and accolades in his lifetime. But among his most treasured possessions was a box of letters, sent by people young and old, thanking him for helping to build the Plaza at The Forks skateboard park. It opened in 2006 thanks to a gift from The James Burns Family Foundation and has since welcomed hundreds of thousands of visitors. It has also inspired countless young people along the way.

Jim kept those letters as a reminder that investing in Canada's youth can pay incredible dividends — especially if we also give them an appreciation for community and knowledge of the history of their country.

LEFT: FORKS MARKET BLOG; RIGHT: COURTESY BURNS FAMILY

Living with hope and dignity

This photograph shows my father, Fred Sikstrom, with his family in front of their self-built house in Hay Lakes, Alberta, southeast of Edmonton, in the midst of the dirty thirties.

Left to right are his brother Harold (holding a chicken), Alice Sikstrom (their mother), sister Evelyn, brother Cliff, and finally Fred, with the dog Jigs. The photo was taken by their father — my grandfather Ingve Sikstrom, who came to Canada with his family in 1902 as one of ten children and settled in the area.

The family supplemented their diet with local game and fowl, and my grandfather worked as a section foreman for the Canadian National Railway for more than forty years.

Harold and Cliff both served in the Second World War — Harold with the Loyal Edmonton Regiment in Italy and Cliff with the Royal Canadian Air Force in anti-submarine patrols on the East Coast.

Harold and Fred became plasterers in Calgary after the war, while Cliff worked as a heavy-duty mechanic. Evelyn moved to British Columbia, married, and had two children. The last of her generation, she lived in Powell River, B.C., until 2020, when she died at the age of ninety.

Submitted by Mark Sikstrom of Calgary, the son of Fred Sikstrom.

Do you have a black-and-white or colour photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If so, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o Canada's History, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your photo to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Please provide a brief description of the photo, including its date and location, details about people appearing in the photograph, and further information about the event or situation illustrated. Photos may be adjusted for presentation in the magazine.

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CANADA'S HISTORY

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The importance of understanding Canada by examining the histories of its peoples has been an anchoring belief of Canada's History Society. Established in 1994 through the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation, we bring relevance and awareness to our nation's diverse past, illuminating the people, places, and events that unite us as Canadians.

The society's work includes: *Canada's History* magazine, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, CanadasHistory.ca, and the Governor General's History Awards.

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L'importance de comprendre notre propre identité par le truchement de l'histoire est au cœur de la philosophie de la Société Histoire Canada. Le travail de la Société, fondée en 1994 grâce au généreux soutien de la Fondation d'histoire de la Compagnie de la baie d'Hudson, consiste à faire connaître le passé diversifié de notre pays et à l'ancrer dans le contexte actuel, mais également à mettre en valeur les gens, les lieux et les événements qui nous unissent en tant que Canadiens.

La Société offre notamment aux Canadiens le magazine *Histoire Canada*, le magazine *Kayak : Navigue dans l'histoire du Canada*, le site HistoireCanada.ca et les Prix d'histoire du Gouverneur général.

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